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Devoted to Scientific Study of Rural Life

VOLUME 12

DECEMBER, 1947

NUMBER 4

| Rural Sociology as Science  | son |
|---|-----|
| Gard: The Norwegian FarmPeter A. Mur  | ich |
| Social StratificationEvon Z. Vogt,  | Jr. |
| Rural Ministers   | ort |
| Selective Service RatesLawrence M. Hep  | ple |
| Social Organization Frank D. Alexander and Robert E. Gallow   | ay  |
| Adventures in BooksAnna Mansfield Cla   | ırk |
| Notes by Leon E. Truesdell, Selz C. Mayo, and Jean F. Myers and May L. Cowles Edited by Paul H. Lan | dis |
| Current Bulletin Reviews Edited by Walter C. McKain,  | Jr. |
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# Official Organ of the SOCIETY

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

### Published Quarterly

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<sup>\*</sup> Deceased.





# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME 12

DECEMBER, 1947

NUMBER 4

## CONTENTS

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Rural Sociology as Science. By W. A. Anderson   | 347  |
| Gard: The Norwegian Farm. By Peter A. Munch   | 356  |
| Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis. By Evon Z. Vogt, Jr   |      |
| Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States. By Richard O. Comfort   | 375  |
| Differential Selective Service Rejection Rates for the Rural Social Areas of Missouri. By Lawrence M. Hepple  | 388  |
| Salient Features of Social Organization in a Typical County of<br>the General and Self-Sufficing Farm Region. By Frank D.<br>Alexander and Robert E. Galloway | 395  |
| Adventures in Books. By Anna Mansfield Clark  | 405  |
| Notes. Edited by Paul H. Landis   | 419  |
| Problems Involved in the Classification of Population as Farm and Nonfarm. By Leon E. Truesdell   | 419  |
| Two Population Characteristics of County-Seat Towns in North<br>Carolina. By Selz C. Mayo   | 423  |
| Rural Family Expenditures for Medical Care. By Jean F. Myers and May L. Cowles  | 426  |
| Current Bulletin Reviews. Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr  | 430  |
| Book Reviews. Edited by Howard W. Beers   | 436  |
| Black, Farm Management. By C. C. Taylor   | 436  |
| Goldschmidt, As You Sow. By Walter C. McKain, Jr.   | 437  |
| Inglis, Freedom of the Movies. By Christopher Sower   | 438  |
| Carmen, Jesse Buel (Agricultural Reformer). By F. Howard Forsyth  | 439  |
| Daniels, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat. By N. L. Whetten  | 440  |
| Hahnel, Down to Earth. By Frederick W. Henssler   | 441  |

| Simmons, $U$           | SSR-A Concise Handbook. By Irwin T. Sanders                        | 442 |
|------------------------|--|-----|
| Cuber, Soci            | iology: A Synopsis of Principles. By Bryce Ryan                    | 443 |
| Lumpkin, 2             | The Making of a Southerner. By Marshall Harris                     | 444 |
| Leighton as            | nd Kluckhohn, Children of the People. By Solon T. Kimball          | 444 |
| Proceedings<br>Infield | s of the National Conference of Social Work. By Henrik F.          | 445 |
| Becker, Ger            | rman Youth: Bond or Free. By E. W. Mueller                         | 446 |
|                        | p, How to Conduct Consumer and Opinion Research. By<br>e L. Gibson | 447 |
| Kinneman,<br>Armst     | The Community in American Society. By James W.                     | 448 |
| Phelps, Con            | ntemporary Social Problems. By Carl F. Reuss                       | 448 |
|                        | Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements. By M. r Mathews       | 449 |
| Slichter, Th           | he Challenge of Industrial Relations. By Wilbert E. Moore          | 450 |
| Scott, Engl            | and's Green and Pleasant Land. By Vincent H. Whitney               | 450 |
| Burchfield,            | Our Rural Communities. By Howard G. McClain                        | 451 |
| Luck, The              | War on Malnutrition and Poverty. By LeRoy J. Day                   | 451 |
| Hobbs, Nor             | th Carolina Today. By Howard G. McClain                            | 452 |
| Whitman, 2             | The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso. By Sigurd Johansen            | 452 |
| Lundberg,              | Unto the Least of These. By Homer L. Hitt                          | 453 |
| Randolph,              | Ozark Superstitions. By John E. Eubank                             | 453 |
| News Notes an          | nd Announcements. Edited by Leland B. Tate                         | 455 |

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# Rural Sociology as Science

By W. A. Andersont

#### ABSTRACT

Rural sociology can become more practical in the degree that it develops a system of principles that describe the way in which the sociological phenomena operate. The phenomena of rural sociology are the human relationship structures. Any society is composed of four classes of human relationship entities: groups, ecological forms, institutions, and collectivities. Rural sociology as science must devote itself to describing the structure and functioning of these forms in order to discover their operating principles.

#### RESUMEN

La sociología rural puede hacerse más práctica según desarrolle un sistema de principios que describa el modo en que los fenómenos sociológicos operan. Los fenómenos de la sociología rural son las estructuras de relaciones humanas. Toda sociedad está compuesta de cuatro clases de relaciones humanas: groupos, formas ecológicas, instituciones, y colectividades. La sociología rural como ciencia debe dedicarse a describir la estructura y el funcionamiento de estas formas para descubrir los principios sobre los cuales operan.

The Society conferred a distinctive honor on me by electing me its President. The first pleasant task that I wish to perform is to express my thanks for the honor the membership of our society has done me by selecting me your President for this year. I consider your election of me for this place a distinctive recognition from you. I only hope that my work merits and will continue to merit your confidence.

A major conviction of mine is that we must discover principles to be truly practical. I have a conviction that grows increasingly stronger as the years go by relative to rural sociology as science. It is this conviction that I wish to share with you and to make, if I can, some constructive suggestions towards its possible achievement.

As I see it science may be described as the measurement of related facts relative to a specific body of phenomena in order to discover the principles by which the phenomena operate. To build a body of logically related principles relative to the phenomena of rural life has always appeared to me to be the objective of rural sociology as science. The rural sociologist may have other objectives as a teacher or as an extension worker, or even as a research worker at times, but as a scientist his only objective can be the discovery of the principles that govern the operation of his phenomena.

The conviction that is increasingly growing upon me is that it is more than ever imperative that we attend to this business of finding the principles by which the phenomena of rural society operate. It grows constantly stronger with me because I cannot see much possibility of a more wide-

<sup>†</sup> Cornell University.

spread practical use of rural sociology until we have these principles.

I have never been able to get away from the influence of the motto of my alma mater, Iowa State College, which is "Science with Practice". I heard this motto interpreted so many times with the emphasis upon the necessity for the use of scientific principles in agricultural practices that I have long been convinced that, after all, nothing is so practical as a principle of science. Nor can we be practical in our rural social work until we know the principles by which rural social phenomena operate. We can try this and that and make some progress in rural social organization and control by long time trial and error or by accident, but until we know and can apply the principles that govern rural social phenomena, further practical progress will be exceedingly slow.

## Science Includes Techniques and Reasoning

Now if science is the measurement of reappearing facts relative to a body of phenomena in order to find the principles that are in the operation of the phenomena, then science includes two things: 1) techniques by which facts having to do with the phenomena are observed, recorded, and logically classified; 2) reasoning from these classified facts to discover the order that is in them. By analysis, synthesis, inference, the principles describing the order that is in the phenomena are suggested. These generalizations become the guides for the further analysis of repeated observations so that the generalizations are

substantiated or discarded. When substantiated they form the principles of the science.

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The business of science being to discover the principles by which phenomena operate, the scientific anproach implies at once the formula. tion of a logical, interrelated system of these generalizations, for generali, zations do not stand alone. Science assumes that there are in the real world invariable sequences that result from the operation of these underlying principles and that they constitute an integrated whole with a definite logical organization. Each science develops its logically "closed system" by showing how the principles that are derived from the empirical facts fit into each other and form this whole. This is the theory of the science.

# Rural Sociology Must Follow The Scientific Approach

If this brief description be accepted as a fair statement of what is involved in the development of a science, then it may be said that rural sociology as science must consist of measurement of reappearing facts relative to "rural sociological" phenomena in order to discover the principles by which these "sociological" phenomena operate. There can be no science of rural sociology and. since the phenomena of all human social life are the same, no sociology until there is a clear conception of what the "sociological" phenomena are. Until this is so, there can not be constructed, by any techniques, a rational body of knowledge about them, to say nothing of deriving from empirical facts interrelated principles that result in a determinate structural whole.

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The core question for a rural sociology and a sociology that wants to be scientific, therefore, is: What are the distinctive related phenomena that we deal with? Upon the answer to this question depends the direction which sociology and rural sociology will take. The history of the natural sciences bears eloquent witness to the fact that sound constructive achievement in many fields has come about largely through agreement concerning the primary phenomena with which they deal. Sociology, and the sociology of rural life too, must discover its phenomena and focus its study upon them.

# How Are We to Discover What The Sociological Phenomena Are?

It is clear that the sociological phenomena like all other phenomena must be categories of knowledge derived from social reality. They must include some central, intrinsic trait, some quality in common inherent in themselves which is essential to the description of the social world. Running through these phenomena there must be a uniting principle tying them together. Unless we recognize such phenomena with which to deal, we cannot make useful observation and so cannot develop a useful theory.

## When Do We Have Society?

Perhaps then the question for us to ask first, if we are to discover the phenomena of which society and rural society in particular is composed, is when is there a society? The answer

would seem to be an obvious one: We have society when and only when we have men in interaction with one another so that they behave collectively and interrelatedly. Society results from the interactions between men and consists of these interactions and the interrelationships produced thereby. Robinson Crusoe, in isolation on an island, did not have a society until Friday joined him. Feral men, if there are such, do not live in human society. They may have, according to the stories, relationships and interactions with other animals. They may thus be functioning in animal societies, but not in human societies until they are in association and interaction with other men. We have human society when men are mutually connected with each other, act with each other, and react to each other.

Action with others and reactions to others assumes that the actors are in contact so that they are able to stimulate each other through the medium of communication based on meaningful symbolization. For our purpose it is not necessary to describe how these symbols arise or of what they consist. Others have done this. The important thing for our purpose is the idea that human society is based on meaningful contacts between men so that they are in reciprocal relationships with each other that result in dynamic mutual responses. This is the point of origin of society. Sociology as a science begins here. It is concerned with the phenomena that result from these reciprocal human situations. Sociology, and rural sociology as the science

of sociology applied to rural life, is the science of "betweenness" among men. It seeks to discover the principles that describe the order which actually exists in the interpenetrating, cross-currents that make up relationships between men. The core of the human social world is *relationship*. Sociology and Social Psychology Deal

# With Different Phenomena

In order to make my point clear it may be worthwhile to digress a moment to stress the difference between sociology, psychology, and social psychology as I see it. All deal with men. All deal with the behavior of men. Psychology deals with behavior processes within men. Sociology deals with the behavior processes between men. Social psychology, as a branch of psychology, deals with behavior in individuals as influenced by social relationships. Its phenomenon is the same as that of psychology, namely the individual human being, but the individual looked at from the viewpoint of the influences of social stimuli upon him. Rural sociology is not concerned per se with what goes on within the individual. It is concerned with the behavior relationships that take place between individuals. Its phenomena are not, therefore, individuals, but always the entities that result from interactions between individuals, for the rural social reality is constituted of activities between men which are impossible to individuals alone. One of the difficult things for the sociologist to do is to keep strictly on his course, studying the entities that result from the interrelationships between men, and not letting himself get off the course by studying the actions within men due to their living in society. Much research and writing that starts out as sociology and rural sociology winds up as social psychology or rural social psychology. Social psychology is a most important branch of the field of psychol. ogy, to be sure, but we shall never describe the structure and functioning of society, rural or urban, by focusing on the individual. The starting point for sociology is never the individual: it is always individuals in interrelationships with others.

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### Individuals in Interrelationships Form Structural Entities

When individuals are in interrelations and mutually influence each other, they form by these interactions relationship entities that are the structural units of society. Every society is composed of the multiple structural units that have come into being through these interactions. Likewise, any society operates through the structural units of which it is composed.

One of the most difficult ideas to put across, in my experience at any rate, is that when individuals interact with each other, they form these distinct structural forms that can be recognized and described as such. This results mainly from three conditions. First, the structural forms of society are always active. They must be consciously held still in order to discern their structure. While the analogy breaks down at many points, to grasp the idea that society is a

multiple of structural entities, one can suggest that it has similarities to a motion picture. When the motion picture is in action, as society always is, it appears as one continuous flow of functioning. Hold the film strip still and one sees that it is composed of a series of individually distinct "shots." Each can be analyzed and the relationships of the parts to each other accurately described. So also society is a continuous flow of functioning. But hold it still for purposes of analysis and one sees parts related to each other in wholes, and these wholes arranged and joined to each other giving a larger whole. Secondly, many of the structural entities of society are spatially widespread and so difficult to see as wholes. The third. and perhaps the most important reason, is that when men interact with each other, most of this interaction is is carried on through the use of symbolizations that do not assume a physical form resulting in physical connections between the separate individuals which bind them together in physical units. If every time men interacted with each other, some physical substance like a string appeared as the conductor of the stimulus and reached from person to person, then these interactions would result in the establishment of a physical net-work that would show the web of connecting stimuli tying men together in these structural entities.

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But such does not occur, so that when men are interacting it is difficult to see that there is here a structural unity that can be analyzed in

terms of its component entities. Yet these products resulting from the relationships between men that give us social organization and society are as real as any other structural forms. While most people could not describe them for scientific purposes, all recognize them when they talk of such things as groups, institutions, and communities. They implicitly recognize that these distinct structures are the mechanisms through which social relationships are performed. Society then, and rural society, from the functional viewpoint is the sum total of these human relationship structures in action.

The human relationship structures, then, or as I have called them in another place, the hurelures, are the phenomena of sociology, for they are the elements in society with a quality in common which is inherent in themselves that is essential to the description of the social world. The practical utility of rural sociology depends upon describing the principles that govern the operation of these human relationship structures.

# What Are the Human Relationship Structures of a Society?

Perhaps you have already anticipated what my next suggestions will be, for the question that logically follows on what has just been said, is: What are these human relationship structures or hurelures and how do you differentiate between them?

Any society, and therefore any ma-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anderson, W. A., "A Note on the Phenomena of Sociology." Amer. Soc. Rev. VIII, 719-720. Dec. 1943.

jor segment of that society such as its rural areas, is composed of four classes of structural entities. They are: social groups, the ecological forms, institutions, and collectivities. Each of these is a distinct type of structural form produced by relationships between men, which is their inherent common quality, and each is a reality in any society and therefore essential to describing it.

## What are Groups, Ecological Entities, Institutions, and Collectivities?

A social group consists of two or more people meeting in the same environment or overcoming distance by some means of communication, who are influencing each other psychologically. It is, therefore, a relationship entity. The distinctive characteristic of the group is psychological interaction.

An ecological entity is a population aggregate occupying a contiguous territory integrated through common social and economic activities and so able to and often carrying on many functions as a corporate entity.

Here, too, relationships, of many varieties and not only psychological, are the general characteristics of the three forms, neighborhoods, communities, and regions, in which ecological entities express themselves. The distinctive characteristic of each of these forms is that it is always human relationship in a definable land area.

An *institution* is a definitely patterned, relatively fixed, and socially sanctioned arrangement of relationships between people which at a giv-

en time and place seems to be the most apt way of carrying out some basic need of society that has been crystallized in the mores. The distinctive characteristic of the institution as a relationship structure is that it is a carrier of the mores.

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A collectivity consists of a number of people whose behavior is specifically polarized around some temporary center of attraction and stimulus that gives them interaction and unity, which interaction and unity exists only as long as the center of attraction exists.

Here the distinctive characteristic of this class of social form is the polarization of people around a temporary center, making it serve as the relationship mechanism for crisis, unusual, temporary, and non-repetitive occurrences in social organization. Thus the collectivity serves to arrange relationships for those occasions for which society has no ready and fixed relationship device.

It is my thesis then that any functioning society and any major segment of a functioning society like the rural areas is always made up of these four classes of forms, these four and no more, and that to understand society we must do so in terms of these, its component forms and the relationships between them. Relationship then is the essence of society and relationship through these four distinctive forms its explanation.

### There Are Distinctive Differences Between These Forms

Your next question undoubtedly must be, can you concretely distinguish between these components of society to show that each is a distinct type of entity? Since so many use the term group in a broad, sweeping manner to include every kind of social form and I think the concept valueless when used in this way, I shall make my distinctions between the group as a psychological entity and these other forms and so seek to illustrate the differences between each.

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A group is an entity of psychologically interacting persons. When there is no psychological interaction there is no group. There is no such thing as a group in suspension, as some would suggest. There are groups that form and reform composed of the same persons, but when psychological interaction ceases, the group ceases to exist.

My family is an illustration at times of a social group. Its four members sometimes get together and influence each other mentally. But we have not formed a complete family group for several years now, for we have not all been together at one time or place, nor have we had means of communication that would overcome space so that we could function as a psychologically interacting entity. Nevertheless, we have continued to be a family and so an example of the family as an institution, for its four members are patterned in a fixed set of socially sanctioned relationships that we have not dissolved and some of which we can never dissolve. The family is always an illustration of an institution; it may function and often does function as a group, but it is only a group when its components are interacting.

deceased colleague, Dwight Sanderson, sub-titled his book on the Rural Community, "The Natural History of a Sociological Group." It is not disrespectful of me to suggest that I have never agreed with this sub-title, for on several occasions we discussed this together. I emphasize that the community rarely and in some cases never operates as a psychological entity in which its members are all or even nearly all being mentally inter-stimulated. This may occur once in a while, but mental interaction is not the foundation of the realistic community as it is of the realistic social group. At a given time, and practically at all times, the community is carrying on its activities of economic, social, political, and religious forms in and through many different groups, institutions, and collectivities. Of the ecological forms the neighborhood comes closest to being and is more frequently a psychological entity than any of the others, but the neighborhood also carries on its "neighboring" function, usually, not through a single group but a number of groups. Regions never function as single groups, but they can be described as sociological entities tied together in their common land area chiefly by an interwoven economic life that established, in addition to the spatial, other relationships between its people.

Of the collectivities, such as crowds, audiences, publics, it may be said that they relate people about

some center of polarization that is temporary and disappears when the center of focalization disappears. If the polarizing factor has some elethat develop permanency. ments such as the ideas that may first call into being a public, then they may be organized as groups to promote these ideas, and the groups may even lay the foundations for institutionalization so that they go through a developmental stage from collectivity to institution. But crowds, audiences, and other collectivities usually are made up of individuals and small groups, until the processes of relating them to the polarizing stimuli give them their specific pattern of relationship which may include within the whole, a single, a few, or many groups. Thus if one analyzes a basketball crowd, what one observes in its inception is many individuals and small groups, arranging themselves in relation to the center of activity. When the teams come out on the playing floor representing at least two different groups, the observing audience begins to polarize about them. organizing usually into two major divisions, home teams boosters and opponents. When the game is in progress, the crowd is polarized about its activity; all attention is centered there. The observing audience may at points, if the game is dull, break down into many small groups who cease to attend to the center of activity, while if the game is exciting it may be welded into two opposing, intimately related groups. When the game is over, this

crowd, this collectivity, disbands and never gets together again as the same crowd. There may be many of the same kind of crowds but specific crowds never repeat their composition.

A Scientific Rural Sociology Finds the Principles Describing the Organization and Operation of These Forms of Human Association in the Rural Areas.

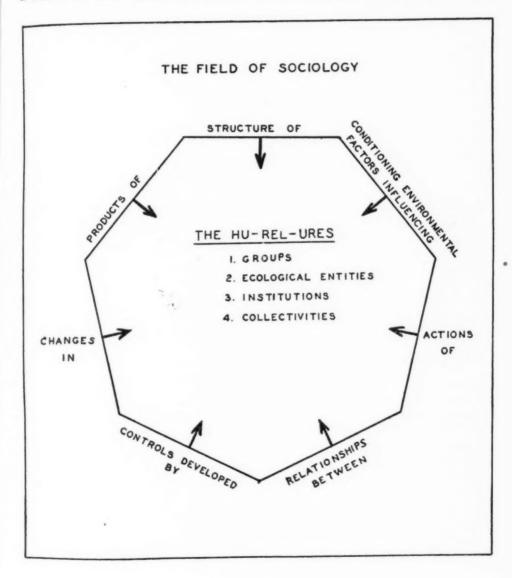
If these four distinctive classes of relationship structures are the elemental substances of which any society is composed, and if in and through them societies function, then a scientific sociology must concern itself with finding the principles that describe their organization and operation. My own conception, therefore, of what sociology must be and what rural sociology as the application of sociological principles to rural life must be, can be summarized most easily through the accompanying diagram.

## A Summary of These Points Includes the Following

Society is the general phenomenon in the universe of phenomena in which the sociologist is interested. Any society is composed of four classes of relationship structures so that to discover the principles operative in society, the principles operative in these structures must be found. A complete system of sociology must, therefore, include a description of the structure of these forms, a consideration of how the surrounding environmental forces condition their structure and operation, a statement of the

principles by which the forms act, a description of the reciprocal relationships between the forms, how social controls result from the actions of the forms, how these relationship structures change in time, and how, as a result of their operation, cultures and personalities are produced and changed.

This view of mine is excellently expressed by Spykman, when he says, "The processes of life create forms and embody themselves in structures. The forms of life, although the pro-



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onucthe duct of its processes, yet limit and define them!" <sup>2</sup> To discover the principles by which these social forms

<sup>2</sup> Spykman, N. J. The Social Theory of Gerog Simmel (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 20. function in rural areas is not only to build a scientific sociology but to build the foundation for the practical development of a much better rural social life.

# GARD The Norwegian Farm

By Peter A. Munch†

#### ABSTRACT

Rural life in Norway centers around the farm, or gard, which is an inseparable unit of people, animals, house, and land. Economically, it is an independent self-supporting unit with a very definite ecological set-up. It is a distinct co-operative unit wherein each member has its firmly designed status and role. Socially, it is essentially a family group and carries out all the functions that are normally ascribed to the family in a primitive society. There is a very close connection between the gard and the patrilineal clan, or xtt, which is expressed in the allodial right, in the naming customs, and in the whole pattern of attachment to the family farm. Until recently, the personalized spirit of the first clearer of the farm played a certain role as a socio-religious symbol of the xtt. Increasing urbanization gradually outrules the old pattern. But still the yard is the most important social and economic unit of rural life in Norway.

#### RESUMEN

La vida rural de Noruega revuelve alrededor de las finca, o gard, ques es una unidad inseparable de gente, animales, casa, y tierra. Económicamente es una unidad independiente que se basta a sí misma de forma ecológica definida. Es una unidad distintamente cooperativa en la cual cada miembro tiene su papel firmamente delineado. Socialmente, es esencialmente un grupo de familias y lleva a cabo todas las funciones que ordinariamente se le asignan a la familia en la sociedad primitiva. Hay estrecha conexión entre el gard y el clan patrilineal, o ætt, que se expresa en el derecho alodial, en las costumbres de dar nombres, y en toda la norma de adhesión a la finca familiar. Hasta hace poco, el espíritu personalizado del que primero estableció la finca hacía el papel de símbolo socio-religioso del ætt. Las antiguas normas desaparecen gradualmente ante la urbanización que aumenta. Pero el gard es todavía la unidad social y económica más importante de la vida rural de Noruega.

As may be well known, Norway is a very mountainous country with a topography not very favorable for agriculture. All along the coast runs a chain of high mountains which in the South reaches a height of more than

6,000 feet. From this chain of mountains, towards the West, the land falls very abruptly into the sea. The coastline is cut by numerous fjords, and the adjacent land is furrowed by thousands of deep valleys cut by violent streams on their short and rapid

<sup>†</sup> University of Oslo.

way from the near-by watershed into the sea. The West Coast of Norway. therefore, has a most wild appearance. Tillable soil is scarce and is chiefly found at the bottom of the long fjords. where streams have laid down masses of gravel, sand, and earth, and in some places on a narrow rim along the fjords. On the other side of the watershed, the land slopes more gently towards the East and South-East through Sweden into the Baltic. Here are broad valleys with a comparatively rich soil and-in the far South-Eastern corner-even some areas of rather flat land, well fit for cultivation.

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The main agricultural area of Norway, therefore, is found in the South-Eastern part of the country, South and East of the watershed. In this area the greater part of the rural population depends entirely on agriculture for their subsistence. On the West Coast, on the other hand, and especially in the Northern part of the country, fishing is the most important subsistence of the people, and agriculture may become a sort of secondary occupation. In the coastal districts a much smaller part of the population depends entirely on agriculture.

These marked differences in the topography and, subsequently, in the ecology of Western and Eastern Norway may also account for certain very conspicuous differences in the culture patterns of the two parts of the country, which are even revealed in the organization of the Norwegian farm.

Certainly, even in Norway the country districts are subject to the con-

stant flow of uniforming culture traits from urban centers, which has lately been going on at a rapidly increasing rate owing to the very rapid development of communication. Great changes have taken place, therefore, in the culture pattern of rural Norway during the last fifty or sixty years. and changes are still going on, tending to break down the old pattern of the Norwegian farm. However, owing to the geographical conditions of the country, the impact of the urban culture upon rural life in Norway is of a rather local character, following the larger communication lines and leaving large districts comparatively undisturbed by the urbanization process.

From old days, the typical form of settlement in Norway has been that of the scattered farmsteads. The most important social and economic unit of Norwegian rural communities, therefore, is the individual farm, or gard as I would prefer to call it with the Norwegian word in order to avoid any associations with the American commercialized farming. Rural life in Norway centers around the gard, which is an inseparable unit of people, animals, house, and land.

According to the original pattern of a *gard*, economically, it is an independent self-supporting unit. It is the productive unit as well as the consumptive unit. Naturally, this is even one of the traits that have been subject to the greatest changes due to the spread of the country trade in the later part of last century, which introduced the monetary economy in

rural communities of Norway. It is very rare nowadays to find a gard where they still spin, weave, and sew their own clothes. But the ideal type of the Norwegian gard is still the one that is able to support itself with most of the commodities of life. Its economic activities are diversified, and in order to fulfill its various functions, social as well as economic, it must have a certain ecological set-up, which undoubtedly is the result of a very long process of man-land adjustment.

The Norwegian gard centers around the tun, which is the farmyard encompassed by a number of houses, varying from five to ten up to twenty separate buildings, each with its specific function in the economic activities of the gard. Radiating from the tun as a center, the land is divided into various sections according to its functions in the economy of the gard. Surrounding the tun are the fields of tilled ground, where the peasant raises the food, etc., for the folks and animals of the gard. This is the  $b\phi$ (boe) or innmark, i.e., the in-field, and it is the most important property of the gard besides the houses. It is always fenced in and, thereby, very markedly cut off from the surrounding land. The work gard literally means "fence" and has subsequently acquired the meaning of an area of land that is fenced in. But it always includes the tun. A piece of land with no houses on it is not a gard, even though it may be fenced in. A gard is always a living and functioning socio-economic unit, and the tun is the

all important center of that unit. Sometimes the word tun may even be used to describe only the collection of houses on a gard. Mostly, however, it includes both tun and  $b\phi$ , so that the fence enclosing the  $b\phi$  is actually the limit of the gard.

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Outside this narrow limit, at a further distance from the tun, is the land of secondary importance to the gard. but still very important for its selfsufficient economy, and still subject to private proprietorship of the gard. There is, firstly, the mark or utmark. i.e., the out-field, which is mostly barely cleared but not cultivated, at least far less intensively so than the  $b\phi$ . It usually consists of poorer land which forms a kind of reserve in the economy of the gard. It is frequently used as pastures for cattle and sheep but may also, especially in the poorer farming districts, contribute to the winter supplies in the form of grass and leaves. The utmark is usually not clearly delimited from the outer woodland, which is the main source of the gard for wood for fuel and building material and which, again-unless it borders on to the wood-land of another gard-graduates into the hills, the mountains, or whatever it may be according to the topographical position of the gard.

In the mountain plains the gard usually has one or several outposts in the form of shielings and hunters' or fishers' huts. The actual shielings and huts are the private property of the gard. The land, however, with its shieling-pastures and its wild life, is regarded as common. It is the al-

menning, (literally all men's land, which anybody within a definite wider area has the right to use.

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Even socially, the gard is the most important unit of rural life in Norway. It consists, as a social group, of those who have their living from the gard, i. e., in the first place, the owner and his nuclear family of wife and children, then very often the retired old folks, parents of the owner. and possibly some other close relative who lives and works on the gard. This group forms a distinct cooperative unit wherein each member has its very firmly designed status and role in the social and economic activities of the group according to sex, age, and relationship to the owner. It is essentially a family group and carries out all the functions that are normally ascribed to the family in a primitive society.

These functions include, first of all, the material care of the members, especially of the young, which is the

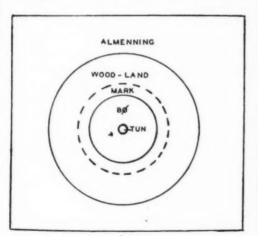


FIGURE I. SCHEMATIC GRAPH OF A GARD.

essential function of the family in all its various forms, human as well as subhuman. It is still the most important function of the family in all human societies, even the most civilized ones, although it may be more obvious in some than in others. In rural society of Norway, as the gard-family is an independent self-supporting economic unit and there is but little exchange of commodities and services on a commercial base, this function of material care of the members is very conspicuously a family function in which each member takes his share.

Even the material support of the old and sick is the function of the gard. The retired farmer always continues to live on the gard. In some parts of the country there is a separate building on the tun for him and his wife, and he is entitled to stay there as long as he lives and to receive a certain amount of supplies from the products of the gard, even though he may not take part in the work. In others parts of the country there is no separate buildings for the retired farmer, and he remains an integrated member of the family unit.

In close connection with the material care of the young members of the family, it is also a very important function of the *gard* to provide for their adaptation to their immediate physical and social environment. This is also a function which is commonly ascribed to the family in all human societies, although in the more civilized ones it is to an increasing degree taken over by various educa-

tional institutions. Certainly, the school system of Norway is well developed. Even in the country districts, every community has an elementary school, many of them have a high school, and there are even a few rural communities having a gymnasium. which furnishes an education on the level of a two-year college in the United States of America. However, all these schools, starting with the elementary school, are mainly concerned with a general education in terms of the knowledge and values of a wider society, and their function, thus, actually becomes that of adapting the individual to a wider social environment than the farm, the neighborhood, or the rural community. As a matter of fact, these rural schools in former days were the most important -and still are very important-leading channels for certain aspects of the urban culture into the rural areas. and especially the higher schools, therefore, tend to turn the rural youth away from rural life rather than adapting it to that life.1 On the other hand, there are quite a number of agricultural schools scattered over the country, and there are the socalled "folk high schools" which have been established particularly for the rural youth. But, although these schools are well attended, I should think there is still a comparatively low percentage of rural youth attending any kind of school beyond the compulsory seven years of elementary school.

So the adaptation of the rural youth to its immediate rural environment still remains one of the most important functions of the gard. The gard itself, with its diversity of activities and functions, forms the most immediate environment to which the child must first adjust itself. And the training of the child for its future function in this environment takes place on the gard by the fact that, from a rather early age, it is put to work on the gard as a co-operative and co-responsible member of the gard-family.

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Although the gard, taken as a social unit, is essentially a family unit, there is a close connection between the gard and the patrilineal descent group called ætt. Actually, the family living on the gard is nothing but the living representatives of the ætt. This was still more evidently true in the older days when it was not uncommon that the entire joint family, with parents, sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren, lived together on the gard, which thus formed a socio-economic unit comprising from 20 to 30 individuals with the old patriarch at the head ruling like a king over his territory. This pattern was acbroken when Christianity tually introduced individualistic ideal of personality. But in remote districts of Norway and Northern Sweden it has been possible to find examples of this joint family gard as late as last century.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A similar observation might be made in many American rural communities too.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Magnus Olsen, Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie A: Forelesninger, IX, Oslo, 1928), p. 43.

More explicitly is this close connection between gard and ætt expressed in the so-called odelsrett, i.e., allodial right, which dates as far back at least as the oldest written laws of Norway, i. e., at the end of the heathen ages, and probably is still older. According to the odelsrett, which still holds and is adopted in the modern Norwegian laws, the odel, i. e., the cultivated home-fields, actually is the property of the ætt and should be preserved for the ætt. If the owner wants to sell, the nearest of kin have the right of preemption, and if the land has been sold out of the ætt, the allodial heirs have the right to repurchase it. In modern Norwegian law, this right is limited to 20 years after the gard has been sold.

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The joint family gard is not found in Norway any more. The orginally very large farms of the heathen times have been divided and subdivided until the present pattern of the nuclear family gard developed. There is, however, a characteristic difference in this development between the West Coast and the Eastern part of the country which undoubtedly is due to the difference in the ecological conditions of the two areas.

Basically,—and that obtains all over the country—all sons, in the second place even the daughters, are equally entitled to the *odel*. With the pattern of the nuclear family *gard* prevailing, this means that the *gard* should be equally divided among all the sons. And this is actually the pattern that has been followed in the Western part of Norway. In this way,

of course, the individual farm becomes smaller and smaller. But if it becomes too small to support a family there is always the possibility of resorting to fishing. A vestige of the original unity of the gard, however, was retained by the development of a peculiar form of land ownership by which the  $b\phi$  was divided into several plots according to the quality of the soil, and each plot into several strips of land which were held in turn by the individual owners according to the principle called aarbytte, or aarkast, i.e., annual change, while the mark was held in common as hopemark, its hay being mown by all the owners and afterwards divided among them. Besides, in many places on the West Coast, while each owner had his complete set of houses. they were all gathered round the old tun in a so-called fellestun, i. e., common farmyard, which could hold as many as 50 or more separate buildings. The principles of aarbyttee and hopemark were abandoned late in the 19th century when, on Government initiation, very extensive shifts of land took place to the effect that each of the many holdings should form an established and cohesive unit of its own. In this way the separation of the holdings into individual garder was fulfilled. At the same time the old custom of fellestun was also abandoned, each gard getting its own tun. But still an old fellestun may possibly be found in existence in some remote district, reminding us of the original unity of all these garder.

In the more markedly agricultural

districts of Eastern Norway the development took another direction. Here the gard is the only source of subsistence for the family, and it is important, therefore, that it does not become too small. This consideration may be the functional background of the peculiar rural pattern of inheritance which is now known as the the odelsrett, and which is particularly characteristic of the eastern part of the country. According to this pattern, the gard is regarded as an indivisible unit and is handed over in its entirety to the eldest son. Only in case the eldest son does not want to take over the gard does the odelsrett pass over to the next son, and so on. In this way, many a gard has been handed over from father to son through several generations, and hence, in this part of the country, the sense of unity of gard and ætt has been retained very strongly. Here the gard still belongs in the first place to the ætt; both of them form an inseparable unit, and if an odelsbonde, i.e., an owner of an odelsgard, were after all to lose the gard, it would be considered a disgrace if no kinsman were in a position to use his allodial right of repurchase.

This close connection of gard and ætt is even revealed through the peculiar naming customs of rural Norway. Every individual gard has its own name which always has a definite meaning and, in its origin, may be historic, referring to the person who first cleared and owned the gard; or religious, referring to some deity who has been worshiped on the

gard; or simply descriptive. Some of these names are very old, and their exact meaning can not be traced any more. Now, with the great impor. tance of the ætt in this society, es. pecially of the odelsætt, one should expect to find that even the individual ætt had its own name. This, however. is not the case. According to the typical rural pattern of naming, the individual person carries one individual name, which is the name by which he is known in the community. In addition he carries the name of his father with an affixed son (or dotter in the case of the female), an evidence of the significance of the family in this society. And, as a further identification, as his third and last name he caries the name of the gard. This latter name, however, is strictly bound to the gard and is retained only as long as the person lives on the gard. If he moves away from the gard, he drops his third name, and if he moves over to another gard, either as owner or as tenant, he adopts the name of that gard as his third name.

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This naming custom is no more in use. Today the Norwegian peasants have adopted the urban custom with a "family name" common to the whole patrilineal descent group, using either the father-name or the name of the gard from which they originally came as their "family name." But less than a hundred years ago the old rural custom was still in use, and in some parts of the country there may still be some vagueness as to

which of the two naming patterns should be followed.

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The essence of this rural naming custom is evidently that the ætt is of no significance watever unless as the owner of an ættegard. In that case, however, it is of the greatest importance, but is strictly confined to those individuals who live on the gard, i. e., the eldest son's eldest son forming what we might call a monolineal descent group. The many sons and daughters who have to leave the gard at the same time drop out of the ætt, and any kinship connections with the original ætt will be forgotten only after two or three generations.

Owning an odelsgard, or ættegard. is attached with very much prestige in rural communities of Eastern Norway, and the greater the number of generations during which the same att has been "sitting on the gard" (as the expression says), the greater is the prestige of the ætt and its members as well as of the gard itself. Some of these odelsbønder may follow their ætt back 15 or more generations of known ascendants, all on the same gard, and very often the origin of the ætt is lost in the far past. It may not occur any more than any old gard has been kept in the same ætt from its first foundation. But still, until fairly recently, the first clearer of of the gard played an important part in certain purely social, or socio-religious, activities of the gard-family, indicating that in these activities it is actually the gard-xtt (including the deceased forefathers and previous

owners of the gard) rather than the family that comes into action. In Norway there is a very rich folklore centering around the tomtegubbe, tuftekall, nisse, or gardvor, all of which are designations (used in different parts of the country) of a supernatural person representing the first clearer of the gard and the founder of the ætt. Very often he is put in connection with a supposed tomb or grave on the tun. He is really friendly and helpful to his own ætt, but may be a great nuisance to any new people taking over the gard and not observing the taboos of the holy places. In the form of nisse, he is thought of as living under the barn looking after the cattle. At certain times, e. g., Christmas, offerings were brought to him in various forms, or he was thought of as taking invisible part in the common meal of the gard-family. In many parts of the country, these observances were actually observed as late as the middle of last century, and old people may still be found in some secluded mountain valley who firmly believe in the nisse.

It should be remarked that the picture that is given above of the Norwegian gard is extremely schematic and is subject to many modifications in reality. Many of the described customs, too, are dying customs owing to the rapidly increasing urbanization of the countryside which has already been referred to. The fact remains, however, that the gard and the ætt, represented by the nuclear family actually sitting on the gard, is still the most important social and economic unit of rural life in Norway.

# Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis\*

By Evon Z. Vogt, Jr.;

#### ABSTRACT

This analysis of "Prairie Township" treats a rural community as a functioning social system and describes the significant interrelationships which exist between the data on social stratification and the data on other segments of the economic and social organization. The history of settlement, the changing pattern of land ownership, the development of formal associations, and the systems of informal visiting and exchange work are all found to bear determinate relationships to the form of social stratification which has emerged in this community. The suggestion is made that this method of intensive analysis of the functional dependencies within the social systems of selected rural communities will help to give us a deeper understanding of the structure and dynamics of rural American society.

#### RESUMEN

En este análisis del "Prairie Township" se trata una comunidad rural como un sistema social en funcionamiento y se describen las interrelaciones significativas que existen entre los datos sobre la estratificación social y los datos sobre otros segmentos de la organización económica y social. Se halla que la historia de colonización, los cambios en el sistema de la propriedad, el desarollo de asociaciones formales, y los sistemas de visitas informales y el intercambio de trabajo ejercen relación determinada a la forma de estratificación que ha surgido en esta comunidad. Se sugiere que este método de análisis intensivo de las dependencias funcionales dentro del sistema social de comunidades rurales escogidas ayudará a darnos mayor comprensión de la estructura y la dinámica de la sociedad americana rural.

In a recent article in Rural Sociology, Robin M. Williams emphasized the need for rural research which examines the interrelationships of behavior within a total community or social system.¹ The problem raised by Williams is a significant one, and I shall attempt to deal with it in this brief structural analysis of a Midwestern township. My purpose is to show how the data on social stratification bear a determinate relationship to the data on other aspects of the economic and social system. The analysis is not intended to be an exhaustive study of the entire social structure, but rather a description of some of the more important functional dependencies in

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\* This study is based upon five months of intensive field work in Prairie Township under the auspices of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago.

For a more complete treatment of the problem see Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., Prairie Township: A Study of Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest, M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1946; also a forthcoming book edited by W. Lloyd Warner which will contain an analysis of both the rural and

urban social structure of this county.

I am indebted to Prof. W. Lloyd Warner,
Dr. Everett C. Hughes, and Naneen Vogt for
valuable criticism and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

† University of Chicago.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Review of Current Research in Rural Sociology," Rural Sociology, XI (June, 1946), 106.

Chapple and Coon's sense.<sup>2</sup> I shall focus on the interrelationships between the social stratification, on the one hand, and the history, pattern of land ownership, formal associations, and systems of informal visiting and exchange work, on the other hand.

Prairie Township

Prairie Township (population 700) is an open country type3 of community which lies at the outskirts of Prairie City (population 6000).4 Geographically, the area is located inthe "Upper Midwest" which is the richest agricultural region in the United States.5 The county farm adviser describes the present land-use pattern of the township as 75% cash-grain and 25% dairying, the three important crops being corn, oats, and soybeans. Approximately 60% of the land is operated by tenants and 40% by owners. The average size of the farms is 200 acres, and farm operations are now almost completely mechanized.

The township is a two-culture area,

"Yankee" and "Norwegian".6 and the social differentiation between these two groups constitutes the basic cleavage in the social structure. Historically, the Norwegian group has been strongly subordinate to the Yankee group, due to the fact that the Norwegians entered the township with a "foreign" culture after the Yankees had acquired control of all of the land and had already developed a wellorganized social and economic system. At the present time the high status Yankees are still superordinate to the Norwegians; the low status Yankees are separate from, but not superordinate to, the Norwegians.

By intensive interviewing and observation the writer found that the Yankee group recognizes a set of status distinctions which constitutes an emerging social class system in this rural area. Three social levels are recognized by the Yankees: "Squire or Gentlemen Farmers" (called upper class in this study), "Old Landowners" (called middle class), and "Dirt Farmers" (called lower class). The upper class is composed of "Old

<sup>2</sup> Eliot Dismore Chapple and Carleton Stevens Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt, 1942).

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<sup>3</sup> Zimmerman calls this a "pure isolated farm type" of community. See Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1938).

<sup>4</sup>The Committee on Human Development has selected Prairie City as a typical Middlewestern town and is currently sponsoring a long-range research program in this community.

community.

<sup>o</sup> A. R. Mangus, Rural Regions of the United States, Works Progress Administration, Division of Research (Washington, 1940).

The "Yankees" (as they are called in this community) are "Old Americans" of two types: "Old Yankees" who came from the East and settled in Prairie Township in the 1830's, and "Sort-of Yankees" who came directly to the Middlewest from England, Scotland, or Wales within the last three

generations. The "Norwegians" are people who were born in Norway, or are descendants (second, third, or fourth generation) of people born in Norway. The "Yankees" constitute 47 per cent of the population of the township, the "Norwegians", 53 per cent.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Charles P. Loomis has called my attention to the fact that the use of the term "dirt farmer" to designate lower class farmers is not common usage in other areas of the rural United States. It is quite possible that this usage is a local variation. There are two alternative terms in use in Prairie Township: "renter" and "tenant farmer." However, the term "dirt farmer" occurred more frequently in my interviews than the other two terms, and I am, therefore, using it for convenience in this brief article.

Yankee" families and is differentiated from the middle class by a great amount of high status urban social participation and behavior. The middle class is differentiated from the lower class by the possession of "Old Yankee" lineage and by ownership of the land. The lower class is composed of "Sort-of Yankees" who rent rather than own land.

Upward mobility from the middle to the upper class takes place by an acquisition of high status urban culture patterns and an increase in urban social participation accompanied by a decrease in rural participation. Mobility from the lower to the middle class requires the acquisition of land and the establishment of kinship connections with the "Old Yankee" families.

The Norwegian group, on the other hand, lacks the marked social stratification that is characteristic of the Yankee group. Nearly all of the Norwegian families are participating members of the Norwegian Lutheran Church which functions as a closed interactive system within which individual Norwegians find satisfaction for most of their religious and social needs. Both the structure and the ideology of the Lutheran Church function to minimize the type of social stratification found among the Yankees.

The variations in behavior from family to family among the Norwegians can best be described in terms of

acculturation to the Yankee pattern of culture. The most acculturated fam. ilies are those whose external relations are widest and whose values and behavior are most nearly like the Yankees: the least acculturated families are those whose external relations are most restricted and whose values and behavior conform most closely to the ancestral Norwegian culture. The degree of acculturation is largely a function of the number of generations by which a family or individual is removed from the immigrant forebears.9 The most acculturated Norwegian families are now beginning to participate in the Yankee class system.

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# Social Stratification and the History of Prairie Township

The most important historical fact in relation to the problem of social stratification is the differential in time between the arrival of the Yankees and the Norwegians, and between the arrival of the "Old Yankees" and the "Sort-of Yankees." The earlier migration of the "Old Yankee" families to the township enabled them to acquire ownership of the land at \$1.25 an acre. When the Norwegians arrived, they found the Yankees in control of the agricultural system and were forced to start out as hired hands for the Yankee farm operators.10 It was only after several years

<sup>o</sup> Warner and Srole also found this to be the case in their detailed analysis of the ethnic groups in Yankee City. See W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems* of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

Many of the Norwegian families interviewed believe that the Yankees acquired the

land directly from the Indians.

<sup>\*</sup>In this context "high status urban culture" is defined as an interest and participation in such activities as bridge playing, social drinking, country club parties, wearing "fashionable" clothes, etc.

of work as a farm laborer that an individual Norwegian could save enough money to buy a small farm. The Yankees were also in control of the banking and credit system and were, therefore, the people to whom the Norwe-gians had to go to borrow money for farm equipment. The same situation existed for the later immigrants from the British Isles who are now considered as "Sort-of Yankees." The result is that although many of the Norwegians and the more recently arrived Yankees have been able to acquire land, they do not have the status of "Old Landowners." Their family lineage as landowners does not have its roots in the "old pioneer days."

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Another closely related historical event which is important in the present status system is the fact that most of the "Old Yankee" families have a lineage in the United States which can be traced back to the days of the American Revolution. These families not only derive prestige from their pioneering history in Prairie Township, but also from their ancestral connections with the earlier American settlements on the Atlantic Seaboard. The expression of these status symbols is clearly formulated in the association called "The Daughters of the American Revolution." An active chapter of the D.A.R. in Prairie County functions to relate its members both to their ancestors who settled in the Middlewest and to their more distant forebears who fought in the Revolutionary War. The meetings are devoted to such matters as putting up monuments to the Indian chief "who my great grandfather knew when he first came to Prairie County" or lectures on "antique colonial spoons." One of the local ministers said of the D.A.R.:

The D.A.R.'s stronger in this town than any place I've ever been. It's something that bolsters up the family and is almost a religion to some of the women. They have their little plaques on the wall just like religious symbols. Of course, this ties up with the "old families" we were talking about—in fact, it's the same thing.

The status claims which an "Old Yankee" family makes on the basis of its lineage was clearly stated in an interview with the oldest living member of the Cate family—the first family to arrive in Prairie Township:

The Cates came first. That was in 1832. The Craigs came much later. The Marshes we don't class with the old settlers. They are not pioneers like the Cates. (Note: The Craigs arrived in 1834, only two years after the Cates, and the Marshes came in 1855.)

The rise of industrialism in Prairie City has also had a profound effect on the development of Prairie Township. Its influence has been manifested in at least two important ways:

(1) It has provided an outlet for the surplus farming population which otherwise might have accumulated in the rural area, resulting in both a decreased standard of living and a larger number of landless families in the township. (2) Beginning around 1900 the industrial managerial families in Prairie City began to buy farms as an investment for their accumulated

earnings and to acquire the status symbols of "landowners" with "country estates." <sup>11</sup> This tendency has continued and was greatly accelerated during the depression of the early 1930's. These farms are being passed on to the younger generation of the industrial families, and this trend of events is one of the factors responsible for limiting mobility on the agricultural ladder.

## Social Stratification and Land Ownership

In order to see what the dynamics of land ownership have been during the past 100 years in Prairie Township, the writer made a complete study of the land transfers for a sample of 50 farms covering approximately 10,000 acres (almost one-half of the farms in the township). The results of this analysis show that the land was held by the Yankees until the 1860's when the Norwegians began to buy land. The land ownership changes since 1860 are presented graphically in Figure 1.

Note that from the time that the Norwegians began to acquire land in 1860 there was a steady increase in Norwegian ownership until 1920, with a marked increase in the 1870's. Norwegian ownership remained about the

same during the decade of 1920 to 1930, but in the depression years of the early 1930's the Norwegians lost almost half their land. In the 1860's almost all of the land was owned by rural Yankees. Between 1860 and 1900 the rural Yankee ownership was reduced by the amount the Norwegians acquired. By 1910 a new group of owners had entered the picturethe urban Yankees. In this instance these urban Yankees were the industrial managerial families who began to buy land for reasons noted above. The great increase in urban Yankee ownership between 1910 and 1920 was due to two factors: (1) The urban industrial families acquired a few more farms. (2) Several of the rural Yankee families prospered on the high agricultural prices during World War I, moved into town on a retired status, and rented their land to tenants.

During the depression of the 1930's the land lost by the Norwegians passed into the hands of upper and uppermiddle class urban Yankee families. Approximately half of this land was acquired by the industrial families and half by the retired Yankee farm families. These land transfers were the result of foreclosures of mortgages on the Norwegian farms, and this trend was effectively halted by the establishment of the Federal Land Bank credit system.

These changes in land ownership are related in several significant respects to the facts on social stratification. The pattern of ownership during the period of 100 years covered by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This pattern of the high status "country gentlemen" with a "country estate" was carried over to our Atlantic Seaboard from England in colonial days. Later the pattern spread to the South and, in somewhat attenuated form, to the Middlewest. In recent years it has also spread to the Southwest where "Eastern" families are buying ranches as "country estates."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> These transfers were recorded in the county court house which has accurate records running back to the 1830's.

analysis clearly establishes the Yankees as the dominant landowning group. This control of the land is one of the most important factors operating to place the Yankee group in a superordinate economic and social position over the Norwegian group.

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The increase in urban Yankee ownership indicated in Figure 1 is an approixmate index of the amount of tenancy, asmuch as most of the rural Yankee land and all of the Norwegian land is operated by owners. This increase in absentee ownership since 1900 has, therefore, placed the urban Yankees in an increasingly important position in the ownership pattern and has had at least two signifi-

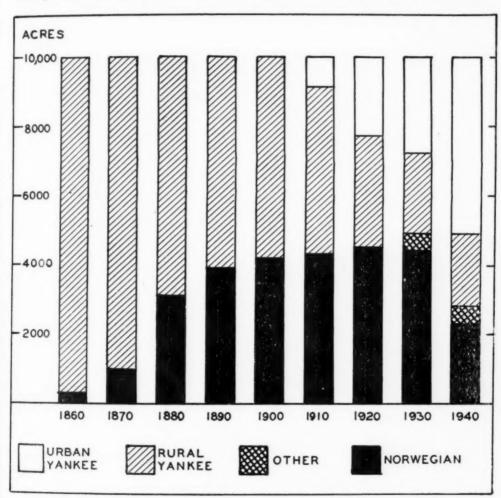


FIGURE 1. PATTERN OF LAND OWNERSHIP BY DECADES SINCE 1860.

cant effects upon the social stratification in the township. (1) It has reduced the landholdings of the Norwegian group and, thereby, tended to increase the subordination of the Norse to the Yankees. (2) It has limited mobility on the agricultural ladder on the part of the tenant farmers. There is now no land for sale in Prairie Township nor has there been since the depression of the 1930's. The urban Yankees consider this farm land as a good investment and are holding on to it. As one upper-middle class urban Yankee expressed the situation:

My uncle was on the Board of Trade in the old days. He bought four or five farms. We inherited these, and then we bought three or four more. We think it is the best investment one can make.

Many tenant farmers are now in an economic position to buy land but are unable to find a farm for sale. This state of affairs is well expressed in the following interview material from the wives of two "Sort-of Yankee" tenant farmers:

This farm here belongs to Herbert Craig. He owns a whole section here. You know, we are really just hired men, and I think they want to keep us that way. We want to buy a little piece of land like the Frank Joneses did over there. They got that farm from an insurance company during the depression, but you just try to buy a piece now. I think they just want to keep us as tenants. None of them farm now. They all live in town, and we are just hired men. It's really a feudal system, and its getting worse all the time. Herbert Craig has

never done anything in his life, just lived off the land. His wife is a Cate, and she has three or four farms. There it is. I can't understand how it is that they seem to build fences around all of the land and the money!

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Most of the land around here is owned by one family. There was two old brothers, and they had it all. They drove the Indians off when they got here, and then they got it from the government for a dollar an acre. They passed it down, and it's still in the same family. One of the sons of the old brothers is still living down in Prairie City. He's almost 90 years old. He has no children, but all the nieces and nephews are sitting around down there with their tongues hangin' out waitin' for the old man to die so they'll get the land. This family has so much land that it's even hard to rent a farm. If you're forced off for some reason, then you might as well sell out, because you can't get back on. There's always so many people looking for farms that when somebody dies, they don't even wait for the funeral but go around and try to rent the land. And you can't buy land now either.

In addition to placing the Norwegian group as a whole in a more subordinate position with respect to land ewnership, the land transfers of the 1930's have had another effect upon social stratification within the Norse group. Interview material indicates that the amount of land actually operated by the Norwegians has remained approximately the same since 1900. The land which the Norwegians formerly operated as owners and lost in the depression is now farmed by the

same families as tenants. This means that within their life careers many Norwegians have gone from owners to tenants. This drop on the agricultural ladder did not result in any noticeable difference in their social participation in the Lutheran Church organizations and is certainly one factor in the Norwegian attitude that "there's no social difference between owners and tenants in our neighborhood."

### Social Stratification and Rural Associations

The currently functioning formal associations in Prairie Township are of two types: (1) Those which have been organized by the agricultural extension service and include the Farm Bureau, the Home Bureau, and the 4-H Clubs, and (2) those which have been organized by the people in the township. There is now only one association of the second type, namely the Rural Afternoon Club.

The extension service organizations have been set up for the purpose of instruction, i.e., the Farm Bureau attempts to improve the management of the farms; the Home Bureau encourages farm women to adopt improved methods of running the home; and the 4-H Clubs attempt to orient the young to the "approved" farm and home management methods of the adult organizations. These associations are "open" or "inclusive" organizations in the sense that every family regardless of status or ethnicity is strongly encouraged to join, and a large part of their activities are devoted to membership drives.

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The Farm Bureau has been more

successful in its membership drives than the Home Bureau or the 4-H Clubs. Only 26 farm operators in the township have not joined. Of these 26, 16 are unacculturated Norwegian families who still have a strong distrust for any associations outside of the Norwegian Lutheran Church; six are Yankee "dirt farmers" who are operating farms of less than 150 acres and say that they cannot afford the fifteen dollars annual membership dues; and four are farmers who are against the policies of the Farm Bureau.<sup>13</sup>

The Home Bureau has only 12 members—five acculturated Norwegian women, five lower class "dirt farmer" Yankee women, and two middle class "Old Landowner" Yankee women.<sup>14</sup>

The members of the 4-H Clubs are from 12 families—six acculturated Norwegian families, four lower class Yankee families, and two middle class Yankee families.

The Farm Bureau director from the township is an acculturated Norwegian; the president of the Home Bureau is a lower class Yankee woman; and the adult leaders of the 4-H Clubs are a lower class Yankee man and an acculturated Norwegian woman.

It is clear that the core membership of these extension service organizations both in terms of leadership and participation comes from the acculturated Norwegian families and the lower and middle class Yankees. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> These farmers have been active members of the Farmers Union.

<sup>&</sup>quot;One reason for the small number of members in the Home Bureau is the competition offered by the Rural Afternoon Club.

facts suggest the following relationships to the problem of social stratification: (1) The upper class "Squire Farmers" do not participate because they have severed their connections with rural associations and are now interested in high status urban activities.15 (2) For the lower class Yankees and for the acculturated Norwegians who are beginning to participate with the Yankees, these associations provide an opportunity for upward mobility by bringing them into frequent face-to-face relations with the "Old Landowner" middle class Yankees. (3) Most of the Norwegian families continue to fulfill their social needs within the interactive system of the Lutheran Church and are, consequently, very reluctant to join these associations. The only one the Norse have joined in significant numbers is the Farm Bureau.

An analysis of the membership and function of the Rural Afternoon Club suggests that this association is even more significantly related to the facts on social stratification. It is a basically different type of association. Rather than an organization which is "artificially" stimulated from the outside, this club has its roots in the rural area. It is a "closed" or "exclusive" association in the sense that a woman must be invited to join and her name must be voted upon by the mem-

bers of the club before she is admitted.

The club was organized by a group of "Old Yankee" farm women in 1914. The organization grew rapidly and now has 57 members. It is affiliated with the county, district, and state federation of women's clubs, and its annual program closely follows the federation plan, i.e., the meetings are organized around such topics as "International Relations," "Literature." "Indian Welfare," "Music," "Education." Meetings are held once a month in the members' homes, and the program includes a talk on the topic by an outside speaker, musical entertainment, and refreshments. Formal requirements for membership state that a prospective member must live on a farm or must heve lived on a farm in the past.

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The current members of the club come from the following types of families: 46 are of the Yankee "Old Landowner" middle class, nine are highly acculturated Norwegians, and two are upwardly mobile lower class Yankees. Fourteen of the 46 "Old Landowner" members stem from the Cate family—the oldest Yankee family in Prairie County.

When the writer asked Yankee middle class members of the club about the number of Norwegian women who belong, the usual response was: "Oh, we have a great number of Norwegian women in the Rural Afternoon Club." But the membership analysis indicates that the Norwegian membership represents only 15% of the total in a rural area which is more than 50%

While it is true that the "Squire Farmers" are formal members of the Farm Bureau and that they make their influence felt in the organization, they seldom attend meetings. Furthermore, their wives are not members of the Home Bureau and their chilaren are not active in the 4-H Clubs.

Norwegian. The absence of any "Squire Farmer" class women, and the presence of only two tenant farmers' wives indicate that the club is predominantly an organization for the Landowner" Yankee "Old women. The club never has membership drives, and members are usually added to the organization by mothers bringing in their daughters and daughters-in-law. The Norwegian members are all third or fourth generation and are descended from the oldest landowning families of the Norse group. They have reached the point in the acculturation process where they have become "acceptable" to the "Old Yankee" group. The two Yankee tenant farmers' wives have the reputation in the community of being the type who "try to get into all the clubs and go to all the meetings." It is highly significant that the wives of the "Squire Farmers" dropped their memberships in the club the same year that the wives of the "Dirt Farmers" were taken into the organization, and that one of these upper class women commented at that time that the club was "taking in trash."

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These data on the Rural Afternoon Club suggest that the association functions in an important way to exclude and subordinate the Norwegian and lower class Yankee families in Prairie Township. But it also provides an opportunity for upward mobility for the lower class Yankee and acculturated Norwegian women who are taken into the club.

## Social Stratification and Informal Visiting

Informal visiting in Prairie Town-

ship is called "neighboring." Although all of the informants agreed that this form of social interaction does not occur so frequently as it did in the past, it still forms a significant part of the social life in this rural area.

During each interview the writer made an attempt to discover specifically the "neighboring" relationships of each family. While all the families in the township know all the other families and will visit with them if they happen to meet on the road or on the streets of Prairie City, it was discovered that most of the farm families visit regularly with two or three other families. This type of visiting takes the form of driving to the home of the other family to spend the evening.

Although the data on informal visiting are not complete for every family in the sample area, the information which was collected appears to be related to the data on social stratification. The visiting relationships were classified according to the following scheme: (1) visiting with immediate neighbors; (2) visiting with relatives; and (3) visiting within the same status level-i.e., visiting relationships which were neither with neighbors nor with kin, but which appeared to be motivated by a feeling of social equivalence. "We don't neighbor with the Scotts (immediate neighbors). We neighbor with the Joneses (who live two miles away)."

In the Yankee group the writer found a total of 17 different visiting relationships. Four of these were visiting relationships with immediate neighbors, six with relatives, and seven with families of the same social class who were neither neighbors nor relatives. Most of the visiting relationships with neighbors and relatives were also within the same social classes. Of the total of 17 relationships, 13 were within the same status levels. Only four relationships cut across status lines, and these were all cases of visiting with relatives.

In the Norwegian group in the sample area there were a total of 13 visiting relationships. Six of these were with immediate neighbors, four with relatives, and three with relatives who were also immediate neighbors.

Only five cases of visiting relationships were discovered between Yankee and Norwegian families, and in all five cases the families were immediate "across-the-road" neighbors.

These data suggest that the social stratification among the Yankees is of considerable importance in a family's selection of other people to visit. In the Norwegian group, on the other hand, the visiting occurs with neighbors, relatives, or both. The visiting across Yankee-Norwegian lines appears to occur only with immediate neighbors.

### Social Stratification and Exchange Work

Exchange work is another form of socal interaction which is still of importance in this rural area. Like "neighboring" it does not occur so frequently as in the past, but nearly every farm operator does some ex-

change work. This exchange of labor occurs chiefly in connection with harvesting hay and grain, shelling corn, and butchering livestock. It is important to the social structure in that it brings two or more farm men into face-to-face relations. Every gathering of farmers to put up hay or shell corn is accompanied by rather extensive visiting.

The interview material contains references to 37 specific exchange work relationships. These relationships were classified according to the same scheme used on the visiting relationships, i.e., exchange with immediate neighbors, exchange with relatives, or exchange with farmers of the same social class. In this case the relationships appear to be based almost entirely upon exchange with immediate neighbors. Of the 37 cases, 32 were exchange work relationships with immediate neighbors, three with relatives who were not neighbors, and two with farmers of the same social class who were not neighbors and not relatives.

These data show that the system of exchange work is still largely carried on in the traditional way: neighbor exchanging with neighbor regardless of ethnicity or status. The writer advances the hypothesis that this system of cooperation in farm labor is one factor which has in the past tended to integrate the rural community across class and ethnic lines. As the amount of this exchange labor has decreased with the increased mechanization of farm operations, the integrative influence of the agricultural

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system has become less important and the differentiating factors of social class and ethnicity have come more into play, as evidenced by the data on informal visiting relationships.

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#### Summary

When the rural community is examined from the point of view of a functioning social system, it is clear that the problem of social stratification is significantly related to the

historical facts of the community, to the pattern of land ownership, and to the structure of rural associations, informal visiting, and exchange work. The writer offers the suggestion that this method of *intensive* analysis of the interrelationships within the social systems of selected rural areas will help to give us a deeper understanding of the structure and dynamics of rural American society.

# Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States

By Richard O. Comfort;

#### ABSTRACT

This article is based on a study of two hundred and thirty-one town and country ministers from seven Protestant denominations and from the Roman Catholic Church. Their educational background is described; an analysis is made of their training for the activities discussed; and mention is made of further training which they desire. There were a number of deficiencies in the training of these men with respect to the rural church work, the greatest being the lack of specific seminary training.

There were many agencies which were helpful in providing specific assistance to town and country ministers as they carried out their work. A large number of men made constructive suggestions concerning how the pre-service and in-

service training programs for rural ministers could be improved.

#### RESUMEN

Este articulo se basa en el estudio de 231 ministros rurales de riete denominaciones protestantes y de la iglesia católica. Se describe su educación; se hace un análisis de su preparación para las actividades descutidas; y se menciona la preparación adicional que ellos desean. Había algunas diferencias en la preparación de estos hombres con respecto a la labor de la iglesia rural; la mayor era la falta de preparación específica en el seminario.

Había muchas agencias que asistieron dando ayuda específica a los ministros de los pueblos y los campos según estos hacían su trabajo. Muchos de ellos ofrecieron consejos positivos para el mejoramiento de programas de prepara-

ción dentro y fuera del servicio.

A study of the activities and training of selected rural ministers was

made by this investigator under the sponsorship of the Research Committee of the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council of

<sup>†</sup>Warren H. Wilson Institute of Rural Church Work, Swannanoa, N. C.

North America. Out of 500 ministers to whom the questionnaire was sent 231 ministers returned completed ones. The only criterion in selecting the participants in the study was success in using the best practices and methods in their work.

There was a wide geographical distribution of the respondents to the questionnaire. The 229 who indicated the state in which they reside were located in forty-three states. New York had the largest number of respondents, 16, while Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, South Carolina and West Virginia were represented by one respondent each. The states not represented in the study Georgia, Louisiana, Nevada, Rhode Island and Utah. Questionnaires were sent to ministers in every state, but those in the states not represented did not return them.

The denominational distribution of

TABLE I. DENOMINATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF 231 RESPONDENTS.

| Religious affiliation    | Number |
|--------------------------|--------|
| Presbyterian, U. S. A    | . 49   |
| Roman Catholic           | . 35   |
| Northern Baptist         |        |
| Episcopalian             | . 30   |
| Church of the Brethern   | . 25   |
| Methodist                |        |
| Congregational Christian | . 22   |
| Church of God            | . 15   |
| Total                    | 231    |

the respondents is shown in Table I. In the 231 respondents there were 8 denominations represented — the Roman Catholic Church and 7 Protestant denominations. The largest number of respondents who returned the questionnaires were of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., and the smallest number were of the Church of God.

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Most of the respondents had been out of seminary for several years and had been preaching for some time. Thus, they spoke from experience and not from mere theory. The median age was found to be 48.81 years with most of the men under 65 years of age.

The educational status of the ministers was far above the average. Table II shows that all of the men who answered the question finished grade school; 98.6 per cent finished high school; 97.2 per cent finished college; and 93.5 per cent finished theological school. This is above the average for the nation. The latest previous figures, collected in 1926, reveal that only 23 per cent of the Protestant town and country pastors were graduates of both college and seminary, and that more than half, 53 per cent, were not graduates of either. It is likely that these figures would be slightly higher today, but we may

TABLE II. EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS.

|                    | lumber<br>nishing | Per cent<br>finishing | Number not<br>finishing | Number no<br>answering<br>question |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Grade school       | 221               | 100.0                 | 0                       | 10                                 |
| High school        |                   | 98.6                  | 3                       | 10                                 |
| College            |                   | 97.2                  | 6                       | 13                                 |
| Theological school |                   | 93.5                  | 14                      | 14                                 |

still be sure that the participants in this study were far above the average in their educational status.<sup>1</sup>

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It is evident that there was a great variety in the educational background of the respondents. There were 37 different college majors listed by the 161 men who gave this information. Philosophy was the major of the largest number of men, 34, while one man majored in physics and another in steam electricity. It is probable that some of the men decided to go into the ministry late in life and would have had other majors if they had made their decision earlier. Whatever the reason, it is rather amazing to find such a wide range of college majors for men now in the town and country ministry. This points to one of the real difficulties that seminaries face as they take men of varied educational backgrounds and try to give them a uniform curriculum. Yet with such a wide variety of backgrounds there should be great elasticity in the seminary program if it is to meet the needs of all of its students.

<sup>1</sup>Luther Fry, The U. S. Looks at Its Churches (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), p. 66. Some of the majors would be a good background for a rural minister, such as rural sociology, but a large number of them are only remotely related to his present work. Often the seminary must give almost all of the training for rural work and cannot take it for granted that the men will have had background training in this field in college.

It is startling to discover that of the 139 ministers who report their seminary major in Table III, only one of them majored in the rural church in theological school. This fact is amazing even though it may be granted that a town and country minister could well major in some other division and take some courses in that department. Probably many of the men did not have an opportunity to major in the rural church because fifteen years ago very few seminaries had courses in that field.

Most of these men were not adequately prepared for their work in their formal education. Many of them have supplemented this lack by reading, attending conferences and short courses, and other methods. The type

TABLE III. THEOLOGICAL MAJOR OF 139 RESPONDENTS.

| Major               | Number | Major                  | Numbe |
|---------------------|--------|------------------------|-------|
| Theology            | 39     | Philosophy             | 2     |
| Religious Education | 20     | Missions               | 2     |
| Practical Theology  | 16     | Canonical Requirements | 2     |
| Church History      | 15     | Homoletics             | -     |
|                     |        | Sociology              |       |
| Bible               | 12     | Dogma and Morals       |       |
| New Testament       | 11     | Christian Ethics       | 1     |
|                     | 8      | Worship                | 1     |
| Psychology          | Đ      | Rural Church           | -     |
| Liturgies           | 3      | Evangelism             | -     |
| General             | 3      | Language               | 1     |
| Old Testament       | 3      | m-4-1                  | 190   |
| ureek               | 3      | Total                  | 199   |

of educational background that most rural ministers have, both in quality and quantity, is, however, the chief argument for an extensive in-service training program for rural ministers.

Twenty-eight per cent of the men answering this question majored in theology in seminary. In the comments they revealed that usually this was unrelated to life and certainly was not very helpful in their work as a town and country minister. Although much of the material was basic to their work, the ideas had to be translated into common language before it could be used. This comment points to the need for a more functional approach in the seminary curriculum. The religious education work was usually oriented toward the large city church and more emphasis was usually placed on the formal critical study of the Bible than upon the fact that fundamentally it is a

rural book written for and by rural people.

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# Activities of Town and Country Ministers

In Table IV the median per cent of time spent on the various activities is listed in descending order. This table gives a picture of the amount of time that the respondents to the questionnaire spent on their profes. sional activities. Such a table does not give a complete picture of the daily activities of the selected pastors in this study. In order to secure a more adequate conception of the way these men spend their time they were asked to give a daily account of their professional and non-professional activities for the past week. Of the total respondents, 162 men complied with this request. Their daily accounts give a very clear conception of the way they spend their time, and of the wide variety of activities which they

TABLE IV. MEDIAN PERCENTAGE OF WORK WEEK MINISTERS SPENT ON ACTIVITIES

| Activity                               | Median<br>per cent |     |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--------------------|-----|--|--|--|--|--|
| Preparation for and participation in   |                    |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| regular church services                | 24.15              | 181 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pastoral calls and counselling         | 22.85              | 180 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Professional reading                   | 12.26              | 159 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Work with church groups, youth, men's, |                    |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| women's                                | 5.86               | 168 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Personal devotions                     |                    | 198 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Committee meetings for church work     | 4.68               | 164 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other activities                       | 4.47               | 50  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Work for special projects such as      |                    |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| building church                        | 4.06               | 141 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Preparation and delivery of talks to   |                    |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| various groups                         | 3.86               | 153 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership in community youth work     | 0.00               |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| (Scouts, 4-H Club, etc.)               | 3.42               | 156 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Attending religious conferences        | 3.25               | 173 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Performing religious rites (weddings,  | ,                  |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| etc.)                                  | 2.18               | 185 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Helping with public school functions   |                    | 133 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cooperating with county agent to       |                    |     |  |  |  |  |  |
| promote better rural life              | 1.82               | 113 |  |  |  |  |  |

are called upon to perform. The following is one of the daily accounts of a rural minister:

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Sunday: Rose 7:55. Fixed fires. Dressed. Devotions. Breakfast. Went over sermon and program. Worship service 10-11. Sunday School 11:00-11:45. Invited to dinner. Left at 1:30 P.M. and drove twelve miles to a country church. Preached at two thirty. Called after the service. Got home at seven P.M. Invited out to supper. Home at 9:45. Made five calls during the day. Drove twenty-five miles.

Monday: Rose at eight fifty-five. Fixed fires. Devotions. Breakfast. Read paper. Prepared for funeral. Rested from 11 to 12:30. Wrote letters. Funeral at three P.M. Drove thirty miles. Rested. Supper. Presided at school board meeting from seven to 10 P.M. Got home at 10:15. Fed the baby and put him to bed. Retired 11:45.

Tuesday: Rose seven fifty-five. Fixed fires. Dressed. Devotions. Breakfast. Had company. Studied for Countywide Leadership Training Course which I am to teach. Built fire in furnace at church for play practice. Listened at news at twelve thirty. Lunch. Kept baby while wife directed a stewardship play. Got a haircut. Made four calls. Supper. Went to see Senior play at the high school. Got baby to sleep. Retired at 12 P.M.

Wednesday: Rose at 8:20. Fixed fires. Devotions. Read paper. Breakfast. Fed chickens. Sermon preparation, 10:15-12:30. Listen to news. Lunch. Took care of baby. Signed papers to get soldier released. Built fire in church for play practice. Called from four to seven P.M.

Supper. Sermon preparation 8-9 P.M. Studied Leadership Training Course from nine fifteen to ten. Listened to news. Read. Retired eleven P.M.

Thursday: Rose seven fifteen. Fixed fires. Dressed. Devotions. Breakfast. Drove forty miles to to Executive Committee meeting. Guests at lunch at and — Church of Dr. and Mrs. -. Paid income tax. Shopped in ---. Got home at four thirty P.M. Made five calls. Took flowers, chair, and dishes to church. Supper. Play at Church by Women's Association from seven to nine thirty P.M. Social hour afterwards 9:45-10:10. checks for School teachers. Retired at 1:30 A.M. (Baby restless.)

Friday: Rose at 8:30. Fixed fires. Dressed. Devotions. Read paper. Breakfast. 10:10-10:30 Conference with school superintendent. Delivered checks. Made five calls. Read mail. Listened to news. Lunch. 1:00-1:30 rested. 1:30-2:30 visitors. County superintendent of schools called and asked me to speak before county board meeting. Made a call. Rested. Supper. 7:00-9:30, listened to radio and read. 9:30-10:00, sermon prepa-

Saturday: Rose at 8:30 Had a caller who wanted me to conduct a funeral. Devotions. Read paper. Finished article in Church Management. Breakfast. 10:25-12:00 Sermon preparation. Listened to news. Looked over mail. 1:00-3:30 Sermon preparation (finished typing sermon). 2:30 had company. Rest-

ration.

ed. Did errands. Supper. Had company. Went to town and bought groceries. 7:20-9:15 pre-

pared funeral sermon. 9:15-9:30 relaxed. 9:30-10:15 went over sermon and church service. 10:15-10:45 shaved and bathed. Retired.

Sunday: Rose at 7:30. Fixed fires. Devotions. Breakfast. Went over sermon and program. Preached at ten. Drove eight miles and preached at —— at eleven. Drove home. Went out to dinner. Funeral at two. Home at three thirty. Drove eight miles back to ——. Called. Supper. Preached at seven thirty. Drove home.

The following account gives an excellent picture of the trials and tribulations of many town and country ministers. In a very real way he has to be all things to all people; a pastor, a preacher, a public relations man, a mechanic, one who can fix flats and drive school buses, one who can show pictures, and cut stencils. Is it possible to train men adequately for such a variety of tasks? Training institutions should be doing a much better job than they now are to prepare young men for work in the rural church.

My week properly begins on Saturday night with a preaching service at —— followed by a motion picture. After this I went home with one of the clders and ate a midnight lunch. I got home about midnight and spent an hour or so preparing my sermon for Sunday and cutting the bulletin for Sunday Services. Got up at 7 A.M. Sunday morning and finished preparing sermon. Had Miss —— mimeograph bulletins. Went to church at 9:30 to get sound equipment broadcasting records from the steeple. Held

preaching service at —— at 10 A.M. At 10:50 went to —— for second preaching service. (Received two by letter at ——, and one on baptism and profession at ——.) After lunch went to —— driving the bus with Miss ——driving Command Car and took —— Sunday School to —— Church for joint Easter service and Egg Hunt. After supper went to —— Church where I preached and then showed the picture Courageous Mr. Penn.

Monday morning was spent in correspondence. Monday afternoon at the garage repairing the cars. Monday night I showed the picture at ---. Tuesday morning we left for — Presbytery and Presbyterial. Seventeen persons in all; 95 miles of tough gravel roads with hairpin turns. After a flat tire and several hairraising happenings on the road we arrived at — at 2 P.M. While at Presbytery I served as Chairman of Bills and Overtures Comm., Sessional Records Comm., Member of Comm. on Christian Ed., assisted in sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Arrived home on Wednesday after another flat tire, at 7 P.M. and stayed up with two of our women delegates until 11:30 P.M. until their car came for them. On Thursday morning I cared for two parties who needed clothing, and wrote letters; after lunch back to the garage for more repairs. Later in the afternoon went to see some parties about the sale of some church property and arranged to meet them on Saturday morning. Thursday night Lions Club meeting, and some reading afterward until bed. Friday morning early I went to \_\_\_\_ to get my movie

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projector repaired. While there went out to the University to see the Rural Church man about plans for the Rural Ministers Institute. Back home in a rush to attend a church meeting at -- is ninety miles distant. Saturday morning we made the sale of the property and set the stone on the new property we bought. Saturday afternoon to the garage, where I was chased down by the Red Cross Regional Representative in charge of Fund Raising. Saturday night back to again.

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# Training of Town and Country Ministers for These Activities

Some significant comparisons can be made between Table IV and Table V. For instance, the two activities that account for the most time of the ministers are also the ones for which most of the men have received training.

In Table V less than half of the men indicated that they had received any training for specific community activities, i.e., community youth work, helping with public school functions, and others. Since the rural church is a community institution this lack in training is very serious.

Table VI presents the number of men who had no professional training for the activities listed. Those activities which are usually thought of in connection with the work of the minister such as preparation for and participation in regular church services were the activities for which fewer men had received no professional training. Those activities which were related to the job of the minister as

TABLE V. ACTIVITIES FOR WHICH MINISTERS RECEIVED TRAINING

| Activity                                    | Number of men<br>receiving training | Per cent of<br>men receiving<br>training |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| Pastoral calls and counselling              | 147                                 | 63.6                                     |
| regular church services                     | 142                                 | 61.4                                     |
| men's, women's                              | 106                                 | 45.8                                     |
| Preparation and delivery of                 |                                     | 10.0                                     |
| talks to various groups                     | 99                                  | 42.6                                     |
| Performing religious rites (weddings, etc.) | 97                                  | 41.9                                     |
| Leadership in community youth               |                                     |  |
| work (Scouts, 4-H Club, etc.)               |                                     | 33.3                                     |
| Personal devotions                          | 75                                  | 32.4                                     |
| Professional reading                        | 71                                  | 30.7                                     |
| work  | 58                                  | 25.1                                     |
| Cooperating with county agent               |                                     |  |
| to promote better rural life                | 49                                  | 21.2                                     |
| Helping with public school                  |                                     |  |
| functions                                   | 44                                  | 19.0                                     |
| Others                                      | 41                                  | 17.7                                     |
| Work for special projects such              |                                     |  |
| as building church                          | 38                                  | 16.4                                     |
| Attending religious conferences             |                                     | 15.5                                     |
| Median per cent                             |                                     | 33.3                                     |

a community leader were the ones that, in spite of the fact that their for which the largest number of men training is never completed, one had received no training.

of the most serious inadequacies in Many ministers are now realizing the formal training that they do re-

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TABLE VI. ACTIVITIES FOR WHICH MINISTERS HAVE RECEIVED NO PROFESSIONAL. TRAINING.

| Activity                                     | Number of men<br>having no pro-<br>fessional training | Per cent of professional men having no training |
|--|---|---|
| Cooperating with county agent to promote bet | ter   |   |
| rural life                                   | 95  | 41.1  |
| Leadership in community youth work           |   |   |
| (Scouts, 4-H Club, etc.)                     | 83  | 35.9  |
| Helping with public school functions         | 69  | 29.8  |
| Work for special projects such as            |   |   |
| building church                              | 57  | 24.6  |
| Work with church groups, youth,              |   |   |
| men's, women's                               | 44  | 19.0  |
| Committee meetings for church work           | 37  | 16.0  |
| Pastoral calls and counselling               | 37  | 16.0  |
| Others                                       |   | 12.9  |
| Preparation and delivery of talks            |   |   |
| to various groups                            | 25  | 10.8  |
| Performing religious rites (weddings, etc.)  | 24  | 10.3  |
| Attending religious conferences              | 18  | 7.7   |
| Professional reading                         | 18  | 7.7   |
| Personal devotions                           | 17  | 7.3   |
| Preparation for and participation in         |   | ***   |
| regular church services                      | 8   | 3.4   |
| Median per cent                              |   | 17.2  |

TABLE VII. ACTIVITIES FOR WHICH MINISTERS WISH FURTHER TRAINING.

|  | Number of men<br>needing further<br>training | Per cent of men<br>needing further<br>training |
|--|--|--|
| Leadership in community youth work           |  |  |
| (Scouts, 4-H Club, etc.)                     | 114  | 49.3   |
| Cooperating with county agent to promote     |  |  |
| better rural life                            | 108  | 46.7   |
| Pastoral calls and counselling               | 82   | 35.5   |
| Work with church groups, youth,              |  |  |
| men's, women's,                              | 79   | 34.2   |
| Helping with public school functions         | 51   | 22.0   |
| Preparation and delivery of talks            |  |  |
| to various groups                            | 46   | 19.9   |
| Work for special projects such               |  |  |
| as building church                           |  | 16.9   |
| Others                                       |  | 15.1   |
| Committee meetings for church work           | 35   | 15.1   |
| Preparation for and participation in regular |  |  |
| church services                              | 33   | 14.2   |
| Personal devotions                           | 28   | 12.1   |
| Professional reading                         | 23   | 9.9  |
| Performing religious rites (weddings, etc.)  | 19   | 8.8  |
| Attending religious conferences              | 15   | 6.5  |
| Median per cent                              |  | 21.8   |

ceive is that it often completely fails to help them be ready to assume leadership in community life. Table VII presents the activities for which ministers wish further training.

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Almost half, 49.3 per cent, of the ministers desired further training for leadership in community youth work (Scouts, 4-H Club, and others). A large group, 46.7 per cent, would like to have further training in how they might cooperate with the county agent to promote better rural life. The facts revealed in this table would indicate that not only many leaders in the rural church field but also many ministers themselves think that they should be better trained to do their work which is not confined to the church but extends to the community in which they live.

There are many methods by which ministers have been trained for town and country church work. Some of the methods are formal but others are informal. Too often we have considered only the formal methods of training such as that received in college and seminary. However, we need to consider all methods by which men may be trained as we think of the total training process. Table VIII presents the methods by which the 231 ministers who responded to the questionnaire used in this study received their specific training for town and country church work.

Seventeen methods were listed by the 231 respondents to the questionnaire. As would be expected, seminary training heads the list with 16.3 per cent of the men receiving training in these institutions. Although this method accounts for the largest percentage, it should have a much larger percentage than it does. However, when most of the respondents were

TABLE VIII. METHODS BY WHICH 231 MINISTERS HAVE BEEN SPECIFICALLY TRAINED FOR TOWN AND COUNTRY WORK.

| Method             | Number | Per cent of<br>total number |
|--------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| Seminary           | . 47   | 16.3                        |
| Conferences        |        | 15.9                        |
| College            |        | 11.8                        |
| Experience         |        | 9.7                         |
| Farm background .  |        | 9.3                         |
| Summer school      |        | 7.6                         |
| Special institutes | . 22   | 7.6                         |
| No training        |        | 6.5                         |
| Reading            |        | 2.9                         |
| Short courses      | . 7    | 2.4                         |
| Summer student     |        |                             |
| services           | . 6    | 2.0                         |
| Member of farm     |        |                             |
| organization       | . 5    | 1.7                         |
| Boy Scouts         | . 3    | 1.0                         |
| Christian Rural    |        |                             |
| Fellowship         | . 3    | 1.0                         |
| Clinical training  | . 3    | 1.0                         |
| Study groups       | . 3    | 1.0                         |
| Religious survey   | . 2    | 0.7                         |
| Internship         | . 2    | 0.7                         |
| Total number o     | f      |                             |
| methods            |        |                             |
| nonoutod           | 000*   |                             |

\*Some ministers had been trained by more than one method.

attending seminary there was little or no opportunity to receive any specific training in town and country church work in most of the seminaries. It is surprising that so small a number, 20, or 6.5 per cent, of the men now serving rural churches have received no specific training for town and country work by any of the methods listed. There are other methods of training available which were not listed and certainly today there is no lack of opportunity for men to receive specific training for their work. As

some of the men stated in their comments, often it is difficult for a man to take advantage of these opportunities because of a lack of time and money. However, a growing number of men are taking some type of inservice training to better equip them for their work.

In Table IX the chief deficiencies in the training of town and country ministers are listed in descending order of frequency mentioned. The deficiency most frequently mentioned was a complete lack of any specific seminary training. This might not be as true of men who have graduated from seminaries in the last five years as it is of those who graduated from ten to fifteen years ago. This list of deficiencies might well be a check list for seminaries or other training pro-

grams to use in analyzing their programs to see whether they are func. tional or are merely following tradition. In general, men should be train. ed to do what they have to do in any profession. There is some evidence in this table that this is not being done in the profession of the ministry, It is time that some remedial steps are taken. Table VIII lists some of the methods which have been undertaken to correct this situation, and there is some reason to hope that the above results would not be found if such a survey were undertaken in twenty or thirty years. The wide variety of the deficiencies makes one realize that no one method will be sufficient to remedy the situation, but that it will take both pre-service and in-service training to remove these deficiencies.

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TABLE IX. CHIEF REPORTED DEFICIENCIES IN THE TRAINING OF TOWN AND COUNTRY MINISTERS.

|   | Number<br>reporting<br>deficiency | Deficiency                                | Number<br>reporting<br>deficienc |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| No specific seminary training                     | . 21                              | Experience                                |                                  |
| Understanding rural people                        |                                   | Rural psychology                          | 4                                |
| Work of and with rural agencies                   | . 17                              | Recreation Rural economics Internship     | 4                                |
| Pastoral calling                                  | . 16                              | Boy Scouts                                |                                  |
| None  |                                   | Farm life                                 |                                  |
| No rural background                               | . 10                              | Rural philosophy How make social gospel   | 2                                |
| Rural sociology                                   |                                   | effective                                 | 2                                |
| Youth work  |                                   | Visual education                          | 2                                |
| Music education                                   |                                   | 4-H Club programLabor management          | 2                                |
| Church building needs                             |                                   | problems                                  | 2                                |
| Farm management                                   | . 8                               | Church finances                           | 2                                |
| Rural church methods<br>Seminary course oriented  | . 7                               | Committee organization Personal devotions |                                  |
| toward city                                       | . 7                               | Lack of formal education                  | 2                                |
| approach  |                                   | Handicraft                                |                                  |
| Religious education<br>Lack of coordinated course |                                   | Bookkeeping                               |                                  |
| and field work                                    | . 6                               | unions                                    | 1                                |

Table X is significant especially because the men selected for this study were those who are successful rural pastors as judged by their denominational leaders. If these men need this much further training, and many of them have had the advantage of inservice training, one might well wonder what training those who have not been so successful should have. This table shows that much work needs to be done to give the training to men who desire to have it. The three things that the largest number of men wanted further training in were: cooperation with governmental and community agencies, scientific agriculture, and rural church administration. It would be difficult for any one institution to provide for all of these demands for further training, but all of the institutions that train rural

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ministers working together could easily provide the training that is needed.

The rural minister is not alone in his work. There are a large number of agencies that are willing to cooperate with him in the various aspects of his work. The denominational boards were most helpful to 108 of the men, were second in helpfulness to 26, ranked third by 15, fourth by 3, and fifth by one man. The three agencies that were most helpful to the men were the denominational boards, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges. Thirty-eight agencies were listed as being of assistance to the selected ministers in this study. Only two of the men reported that they received little help from any agency and these two surely did not seek help, for there

TABLE X. FURTHER TRAINING DESIRED BY TOWN AND COUNTRY MINISTERS.

| Type of de training tr   |    | Type of training          | Numbe<br>desirin<br>trainin |  |  |
|--------------------------|----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| How to work with govern- |    | Youth                     |                             |  |  |
| mental and community     |    | Religious education       | 4                           |  |  |
| agencies                 | 16 | Internship                | 4                           |  |  |
| Scientific agriculture   | 16 | Scout work                | 3                           |  |  |
| Rural church             |    | Visual aids               | 3                           |  |  |
| administration           | 16 | How to make social gospel |                             |  |  |
| Practical and pastoral   |    | effective                 | 2                           |  |  |
| theology                 | 13 | Public speaking           | 2                           |  |  |
| Rural sociology          | 11 | Rural life schools        |                             |  |  |
| Conferences              | 10 | Gardening                 | 2                           |  |  |
| Rural philosophy         | 8  | Reading rural books       |                             |  |  |
| Experience               | 8  | How to lead people        |                             |  |  |
| Recreation               | 7  | Cooperative movement      | . 2                         |  |  |
| Church building          | 6  | Theology and its          | -                           |  |  |
| Personal evangelism      | 6  | application               | 2                           |  |  |
| Rural psychology         | 5  | Short courses             |                             |  |  |
| Vocal and instrumental   |    | None                      | . 1                         |  |  |
| music                    | 5  | How to use training       | . 1                         |  |  |
| 4-H Club work            | 4  | A demonstration project   |                             |  |  |
| Rural economics          | 4  | involving good practices  | 1                           |  |  |
| Rural emphasis in        | 3  | Work with Lord's Acre     | -                           |  |  |
| seminary                 | A  | plan                      | 1                           |  |  |
| Rural leadership         | A  | Bible study               |                             |  |  |

is plenty available merely for the asking.

The respondents suggested the amount of special college and seminary training for town and country work they thought should be given. The largest number, 117, suggested that there should be a major in rural church work for those who were planning to do this type of work. Sixty-six suggested that there be two or three quarter courses for these men. Only 15 men suggested that there be but one quarter course in this field in the college and seminary curriculum. Six men said that all of the seminary work should have a rural aspect. Many men think that this is a wise suggestion and that there should be some seminaries which would orient their whole work toward the rural church. Two of the men thought that there should be no special training for the town and country work. "Any one with common sense can make the adaptations necessary," they say. It seems that it is difficult for some men to make the necessary adaptations, and that some ministers never do. These men are decidedly in the minority, as can readily be seen by examining the data gathered. One man thought that all seminary students should have lectures in rural work whether they planned to do town and country work themselves or not. This idea has much value in it, since the problems of the country church cannot be solved by the country ministers and people themselves without the help of those who live in urban areas.

The answers to the question, "In what way should this special training be given?" are found in Table XI Seminary courses were favored by the largest number of men, 163. Many men checked more than one method Special institutes set up for the purpose received the second highest number of checks, with internships ranking third. The list includes most of the methods now being used to train rural pastors, and it is quite likely that all of these should be used in either the pre-service or the in-service training programs. Only one man suggested that there be no methods used and that no special training should be given for town and country church work.

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TABLE XI. SUGGESTED METHODS OF SPECIAL TRAINING.

| Methods           |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  | N | umbe |
|-------------------|----|----|---|-----|----|---|--|---|--|--|---|--|---|------|
| Seminary course   | 5  |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 163  |
| Special institute | S  |    |   |     |    |   |  | ٠ |  |  | 0 |  |   | 115  |
| Internships       |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 104  |
| Conferences       |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 82   |
| College courses   |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 72   |
| Summer student    | S  | eı | Y | ric | ce |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 13   |
| Supervised field  | w  | 0  | r | k   |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 9    |
| Guided reading    | co | u  | r | S€  | 28 |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 8    |
| Visiting successi |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 1    |
| Summer schools    |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 1    |
| Study clubs       |    |    |   |     |    | Ī |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 1    |
| Correspondence    |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 1    |
| None              |    |    |   |     |    |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |   | 1    |

Most of the respondents thought that both course and field work should be given in the seminary training for town and country church work. There were 179 of the men who checked this item in answering the question concerning methods of seminary training for rural work. Thirteen thought that classroom work alone was enough, and

Total number of suggestions .... 571

seven thought that supervised field work alone was enough. Summer student work and internships are not always thought of in their relationship to seminary work and this might account for the small number who checked these two items.

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The respondents were asked to suggest topics that should be taught in classroom courses and to rank them in order of importance. Rural socio-'rgy received the highest rating, 202, with philosophy of rural life coming second, with 200 checks. Rural economics was third, being checked 188 times, and scientific agriculture was fourth, with 155. Scientific agriculture included such topics as animal husbandry, soils, crop production, and poultry husbandry. Rural church methods was in fifth place, checked 147 times. One might suppose that this would be in first or second place, or at least in third place. Rural psychology was sixth, checked but three times; cooperatives, architecture, and evangelistic methods were checked but once each.

This study reveals some of the difficulties that we face as we try to improve the training that is being offered for rural church work. It is obvious that the seminaries alone cannot do an adequate job in this field. The colleges and universities are interested in helping train better rural ministers and many in-service training programs have been organized to help meet the need for further training. Rural church leaders today are beginning to realize that it will take intelligent, well-trained ministers to solve the problems of the town and country church. Given these leaders, we may well look toward having a strong rural church in this country that will produce the type of leadership we so desperately need in these days.

# Differential Selective Service Rejection Rates for the Rural Social Areas of Missouri\*

By Lawrence M. Hepplet

#### ABSTRACT

This article summarizes the testing of the hypothesis that rejection rates are correlated with certain selected indices of social and economic conditions which differentiate the rural social areas in Missouri, and that the variations in these rates are evident in differential ecological patterns within the state. Indices of social and economic conditions and rejection rates for these areas are analyzed, as well as the correlations and significance of differences in rates for the respective areas.

#### RESUMEN

Este artículo resume las pruebas de la hipótesis que las proporciones de rechazamiento se correlacionan con ciertos índices especiales de condiciones sociales y económicas que diferencian las áreas rurales sociales en Missouri, y que las variaciones en estas proporciones se notan en normas ecológicas diferentes dentro del estado. Se analizan índices de condiciones sociales y económicas y las proporciones de rechazamiento en estas áreas así como las correlaciones y la importancia de diferencias en proporciones de las áreas respectivas.

## I. Hypothesis

The hypothesis to be tested in this paper is that rejection rates are correlated with certain selected indices of social and economic conditions which differentiate the rural social areas in Missouri, and that the variations in these rates are evident in differential ecological patterns within the state. The rural social areas, as presented by Lively and Gregory in their monograph, Rural Social Areas in Missouri, were used as the basis for formulating this hypothesis, and rejection rates were calculated for

the rural social areas as indicated in their study. The testing of the hypothesis will consist of an analysis of the differences in rejection rates for these areas.

#### II. Method

Each county in the state has only one Selective Service board except Buchanan, Greene, Jackson, Jasper, and St. Louis counties. In those having more than one, all local boards within the county were combined so that rejection rates could be calculated on the basis of counties for the entire state. Counties were then grouped according to the rural social areas, for which rejection rates were calculated. Since the statistical indices used by Lively and Gregory in determining the rural social areas were available, correlations between some of these indices and rejection rates

† University of Missouri.

<sup>\*</sup> This paper is based on a chapter of a Ph.D. dissertation, Selective Service Rejectees in Missouri: An Ecological and Statistical Study, University of Missouri, 1946.

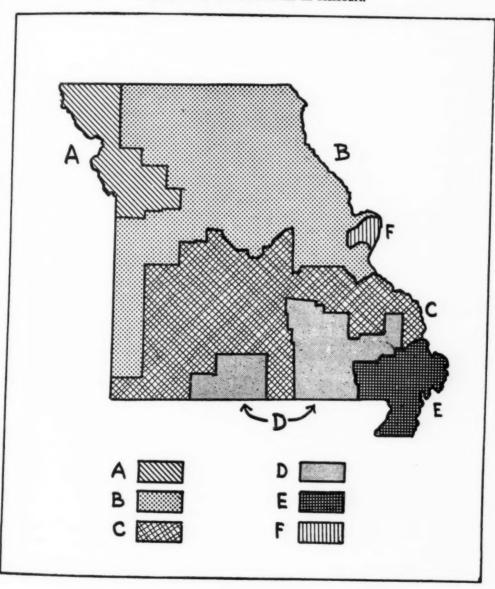
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Charles E. Lively and Cecil L. Gregory, Rural Social Areas in Missouri. Missouri AES Research Bulletin 305 (Columbia, 1939).

were computed. The critical ratios of the differences between the areas. the differences in rejection rates in the rural social areas were also computed, as a second method of testing

# III. Description of the Areas

Figure I shows the location of the six major social areas. This map was

Figure 1. Rural Social Areas In Missouri.



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made on the basis of the six regions indicated by Lively and Gregory, and the brief description of the areas in the following paragraphs is likewise taken from Rural Social Areas in Missouri. The general conditions in each area will be described, and three indices, the farm plane of living, the rural non-farm plane of living, and literacy and general education of the population, will be given.

Area A, including 11 northwestern Missouri counties, is generally considered one of the better rural sections in the state. Indices of literacy, education, social participation, and standard of living indicate that it is far above the average for Missouri. The birth rate is lower and the size of family smaller in Area A than in poorer sections. Kansas City and St. Joseph, located in this group of counties, undoubtedly exert an urban influence over parts of the area. The following indices, when compared with the state average of 100, show that the planes of living are the highest in the state, except for Area F: index of farm plane of living, 154.4; index of non-farm plane of living, 142.4; index of literacy and general education of the population, 121.5.

Area B is composed of 51 counties, including all those north of the Missouri River, except the ones in Area A, and a group of counties south of the Missouri River along the Kansas border. Indices of standard of living indicate that Area B is somewhat lower than Area A, but above the average for the state. Again, urban culture traits have probably diffused to

the sections which are near St. Louis. The lowest birth rates for rural regions are found in this area. The index of farm plane of living is 119.5, the index of rural non-farm plane of living is 108.1, and the index of literacy and general education of the population is 115.5.

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Area C, the Ozark border region comprising 33 counties located in the southern part of the state, is in an intermediate position between the social and economic conditions found in the North and those prevailing in the South. Fairly high birth rates and large families are characteristics of Area C. The index of farm plane of living is 77.7, the index of rural nonfarm plane of living is 85.4, and the index of literacy and general education of the population is 87.6. These indices are below the average for the entire state.

Area D, the Ozark Mountain section of Missouri, consists of 11 counties. As it appears on a map of Missouri, this area is divided into two groups of counties, but both groups are joined in a subregion that extends down into Arkansas. High birth rates and large families, limited social participation, and low standards of education characterize the area. The index of farm plane of living is 48.5, the index of rural non-farm plane of living is 69.7, and the index of literacy and general education of the population is 71.9.

Area E is composed of 7 counties known as the Southeast Missouri Lowlands. This area has the highest proportion of Negroes in the population for rural Missouri. Mobility rates are high and the density of rural population is high because of the large families and small farms. The index of farm plane of living is 43.5, the index of rural non-farm plane of living is 68.5, and the index of literacy and general education of the population is 57.1. These are the lowest indices found in the state.

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Area F is St. Louis County, but does not include St. Louis City. Although the percentage of people living on farms is low, 54.6 per cent of the population is classified as rural. This does not give a correct picture of the county, because a large number of persons who work in St. Louis City are classified as rural simply because they live in communities with a population of less than 2,500. A large part of the county is made up of upperclass suburbanites. The index of farm plane of living is 203.4, the index of rural non-farm plane of living is 258.2, and the index of literacy and general education of the population is 90.2.

The foregoing description shows that the indices of planes of living and education of the rural social areas decrease from Area A through Area E. While Area F ranks highest in the state, it may be thought of as a separate unit, as discussed in the preceding paragraph.

## IV. Rejection Rates

Inasmuch as the indices of the social and economic data used in determining the rural social areas were for the entire rural population in the counties, the rejection rates given in

this paper were likewise computed for the total number of whites and Negroes examined. The data for this study are the results of the examinations of 310,381 men 18 through 37 years of age from all of the local boards in Missouri who were examined as of September 15, 1943, 284,-084 of whom were whites, and 26,297, Negroes. Of this group, 80,964 were rejected for military service-70,993 whites and 9,971 Negroes. Since it was possible to secure enlistment and induction statistics only for the entire group 18 through 37, rather than by specific ages, from the National Selective Service Inventory of September 15, 1943, this study deals with that age group from the beginning of Selective Service to the date of the above mentioned inventory.

In 1943, state medical officers of the Selective Service System were ordered by National Selective Service to review the causes of rejection of all rejectees in every local board in the state. For this purpose a list of rejectees from each local board was submitted to the medical officer. The cause of rejection recorded for each individual was the one indicated by the examining physician as the chief disqualifying defect. The causes of rejection were classified into 25 categories for medical reasons and one category for non-medical reasons. The total rejection rates reported are for medical and non-medical reasons. The medical rejection rates comprise two main categories of causes, nonpsychiatric and psychiatric. Rejections for psychoses, psychoneuroses,

and educational and mental deficiency were classified as psychiatric, and all other medical causes were classified as non-psychiatric. The total number of rejectees in each local board as of September 15, 1943 was added to the number of men 18 through 37 who had been inducted or enlisted from that local board to form the total number of men examined. The rejection rates reported in this paper are the number rejected per 1,000 men examined.<sup>2</sup>

The total rejection rates for the regions are as follows: Area A, 208.6; Area B, 247.5; Area C, 280.5; Area D, 339.7; Area E, 368.7; and Area F, 219.1. When these rates are compared with the indices of the farm plane of living for the same areas, one finds that as the index of plane of living declines the rate of rejection increases, except for Area F. The index of farm plane of living is higher in Area F than in any other area, but the rejection rate of 219.1 is higher

than the rate of 208.6 for Area A. Area A has the second highest index of farm plane of living, but has the lowest rejection rate. Although there is a high percentage of urban popula. tion in Areas A and F, it must be remembered that the men in Area A were rejected either by the local board physician or at the induction station at Fort Leavenworth, and that men from Area F were rejected either by the local board physician or at the induction station at Jefferson Barracks. Since it is improbable that two groups of physicians serving different areas would maintain identical standards of rejection, it is possible that the rejection rate at Fort Leavenworth was lower than that at Jefferson Barracks. This difference between the two induction stations may account, either in part or in whole, for the irregularity between Areas F and A.

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The rejection rate for Missouri is 260.9; Areas A, B, and F have rates below the average for the state. Areas C, D, and E have rates higher than the state average. In the previous discussion of indices of the rural social areas, it was shown that Areas

<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as the total number examined in this study includes, in addition to the men inducted through Selective Service, those who enlisted, the rates reported herein are lower than the rates for Missouri as reported in the sample studies made by the National Selective Service.

Figure 1. Rural Social Areas in Missouri
TABLE I. INDICES OF PLANES OF LIVING AND LITERACY, AND REJECTION RATES OF THE
SIX MAJOR RURAL SOCIAL AREAS

|   | A                | В                               | C                               | D                                | E                                | F                               |
|---|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Index of Farm Plane of Living Index of Rural Non-farm Plane of Living Index of Literacy and General Education | 142.4            | 108.1                           | 77.7<br>85.4<br>87.6            | 48.5<br>69.7<br>71.9             | 43.5<br>68.5<br>57.1             | 203.4<br>258.2<br>90.2          |
| Total Rejection Rate Total Medical Rate Total Non-psychiatric Rate Total Psychiatric Rate                     | $200.4 \\ 166.9$ | 247.5<br>241.3<br>185.6<br>55.7 | 280.5<br>275.6<br>192.4<br>83.2 | 339.7<br>335.6<br>214.3<br>121.3 | 368.7<br>361.5<br>240.9<br>120.6 | 219.1<br>218.2<br>171.2<br>47.0 |

A, B, and F were better than the state average, while Areas C, D, and E ranked lower. Table I shows the indices of the farm plane of living, rural non-farm plane of living, and literacy and general education of the population, as well as the total rejection rate, the medical rate, the non-psychiatric rate, and the psychiatric rate for the six rural social areas.

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The indices of the farm plane of living, the rural non-farm plane of living, and literacy and general education of the population were selected as factors to be correlated with the total, the medical, the non-psychiatric, and the psychiatric rejection rates. All of the correlations were negative, which means that as the indices of the rural social areas decreased, rejection rates increased. The correlations between the total, medical, non-psychiatric, and psychiatric rejection rates and the index of rural farm plane of living and the index of literacy and general education of the population were all statistically significant. The correlations between these four categories of rejection rates and the index of rural nonfarm plane of living were not statistically significant, but did show some relationship.

The second method of testing the differences in rejection rates between the rural social areas was to compute the critical ratios of these differences. This test was used to determine whether the differential rejection rates constitute significant differences or may be the result of a chance grouping of counties, Since Area F

consists of St. Louis County, and since there are no county variations in the area, it was not compared with the other areas in making this test. The standard errors of the means of the total, medical, non-psychiatric, and psychiatric rates for the counties in Areas A, B, C, D, and E were computed. Since the rates increase from Area A through Area E with the exception of the psychiatric rates in Areas D and E, which are about the same, whenever a significant difference was found between Areas A and B, and between Areas B and C, it was assumed that there was a significant difference between Areas A and C. The social areas were compared in the following manner: Areas A and B, Areas B and C, Areas C and D, and Areas D and E.

The differences between the areas for the total and the medical rejection rates are all clearly significant except those between D and E. As indicated in the description of the areas, the difference between D and E is small. The critical ratio of the difference between A and B for nonpsychiatric rejections is probably significant, but the difference between B and C is probably not significant. However, when A is compared with C, the difference between the two areas is clearly significant. The differences between C and D, and D and E, for non-psychiatric rejections, are clearly significant.

Analysis of psychiatric rejection rates indicates that all of the critical ratios are clearly significant except that of Area D and E. The absolute difference between D and E was only 0.7 and one would not expect this difference to be significant. All of the differences between the rural social areas for the total, medical, non-psychiatric, and psychiatric rejection rates are significant except the differences between D and E for the total medical, and psychiatric rates, and those between A and B, and B and C, for non-psychiatric rates.

## V. Conclusion

The hypothesis that rejection rates are correlated with certain selected indices of social and economic conditions which differentiate the rural social areas in Missouri, and that the variations in these rates are evident in differential ecological patterns within the state, has been tested. It was found, in the first place, that the correlations between the indices of farm plane of living and literacy and general education of the population, and the total, medical, non-psychiatric, and psychiatric rejection rates were all significant. The correlations between rejection rates and the index of rural non-farm plane of living showed some relationship, but it was

not sufficiently high to be considered significant.

It was found, in the second place that all of the differences between the rural social areas for the total, medical, non-psychiatric, and psychiatric rejection rates were significant, with two exceptions. The first was that the differences between D and E were not significant except for the medical rates. Areas D and E are adjacent and have many characteristics in common. The other exception was for non-psychiatric rates for Areas A B. and C. The difference between A and B was probably significant, but that between B and C was probably not significant. However, the difference between A and C was clearly significant.

In the third place, when the total medical, non-psychiatric, and psychiatric rejection rates for the rural social areas were presented graphically a definite ecological pattern was observed for the variations in rejection rates within the state. These differential ecological patterns within the state are similar to the ecological pattern of the rural social areas as determined by Lively and Gregory.

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# Salient Features of Social Organization in a Typical County of the General and Self-Sufficing Farm Region\*

By Frank D. Alexander† and Robert E. Galloway†

#### ABSTRACT

Social organization in this typical county of the General and Self-sufficing Farm Region has been greatly influenced by topography and distribution of natural resources. In its early history these factors favored the development of strong neighborhoods. Since about 1900 they have united with other factors to develop a dominant central zone following a north-south line of communication. Although in this zone more highly organized communities have developed, group life remains predominantly informal, familistic, and primary. Simple and informal group relationships, limited economic resources in some fields, and failure to utilize fully other possible resources have led to dependency on the outside world. County-consciousness has grown as the county has increasingly served as a channel whereby State and Federal agencies have come to serve local needs. Hypotheses for further research in the fields of both ecology and social organization are indicated.

#### RESUMEN

La organización social en este condado (municipio) típico de la región general agrícola que se basta a sí misma ha sido grandemente influida por la topografía y la distribución de recursos naturales. En su primera historia estos factores favorecieron el desarrollo de vecindarios potentes. Desde cerca de 1900 se han unido a otros factores para desarrollar una zona central dominante que sigue una línea de comunicación de norte a sur. Aunque en esta zona se han desarrollado comunidades más altamente organizadas, la vida del grupo es aún predominantemente informal, familiar, y primaria. Las relaciones simples e informales de grupos, los recursos económicos limitados en algunos campos, y el no haber utilizado completamente otros recursos han causado dependencia del mundo exterior. Consciencia del condado ha crecido según el condado ha servido de vía para las agencias federales y estatales que han venido a servir necesidades locales. Se indican hipóteses para otras investigaciones en los campos de la ecología y la organización social.

#### Introduction

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Rabun County, located in northeastern Georgia, belongs to the Southern Appalachian Mountain subregion of the General and Self-sufficing Farm Region which extends from Maine southwestward along the Appalachian Mountains, fanning out into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee and including the Ozark Mountain area of Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma. It is one of 26 counties in this and other farming regions of the nation in which the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is conducting studies of rural social organization. Although the diversity within the General and Self-sufficing region is considerable, certain distinguishing characteristics are discoverable in varying degrees of intensity throughout the area.

<sup>\*</sup>The material for this paper was taken from a study of social organization in Rabun County, Georgia, still in manuscript form. Most of the field investigation for the study was done by Robert E. Galloway during the early part of 1946.

<sup>†</sup> Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Rabun County possesses in an unusual degree most of its region's basic characteristics, so much so that it is not entirely incorrect to designate it as typical of the region. It resembles its region in high ratio of population to natural resources, in simple and unmechanized farming operations directed toward subsistence, in generally low standards and levels of living, in group life that is largely informal and familistic with the neighborhood often exhibiting more vitality than the community, and in individualistic attitudes which, although still strong, have weakened somewhat during the past 15 years. Only in the absence of specialized crops, of a fully developed tourist business, and of skills and crafts does the county rank low on regional characteristics.

# **Ecological Influences**

Topography and distribution of natural resources were foremost in determining the dispersed and isolated settlement pattern which for many years characterized Rabun County. The tillable soils are located in the narrow creek and river valleys, but these valleys along the streams are not continuous because in many places the mountains press close along the stream banks. These disconnected valleys became isolated pockets where compact neighborhoods with numerous kinship ties developed. Since there were many of these isolated neighborhoods, small schools and churches became fairly numerous throughout the county.

These neighborhoods were primary groups. The prevalence of blood and

marital ties gave to neighborhoods the character of extended families. In such a setting, informal relationships were predominant. There were few formal organizations; the churches and schools were operated very infor. mally. Since each farm home was a rather complete economy in itself and standards of living seldom rose above the ability of this domestic economy to meet them, there was no real need for formal organizations. Each little neighborhood with its churches, its school, its self-sufficient farms and its mutual aid practices was a world in itself, so that county-wide social organization was limited to a few political interests.

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Since about 1900, several developments have resulted in a concentration of population (Figure 1) and a more complex social organization in a central belt extending north and south through the county. In this belt are the county's five incorporated villages with 28 per cent of its total population (1940). One of the villages, the county seat, gained 359 per cent in population between 1900 and 1940. Prior to 1900, less than half the county's population lived in the central belt; but by 1940, three-fourths lived there.

Again, as in the early settlement pattern, topography and distribution of natural resources have had important influences in this change, but this time they worked less independently and more in combination with other factors. First, through this north-south central belt came the railroad following the natural route of

transportation provided by the topography. This initiated the tourist business in the central belt where it has largely remained. Later, the purchase of land for power developments uprooted farm families in the western part of the county. Many of them moved into the central belt to work on the power plants being built there; other families from both within and without the county also located there for the same reason. Next came land purchases for the establishment of a national forest reserve. These purchases expanded from both the east

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and west sides of the county; families were forced out of the more isolated coves and some of them settled in the central belt. Then came the improved highway and automobiles which increased the tourist business and led to supplying roadside services. During the 1930's, improved secondary roads and the establishment of agricultural and welfare agencies at the county seat turned more people toward this area.

Furthermore, the northern part of the central zone contains the largest extent of cultivatable soil in the coun-

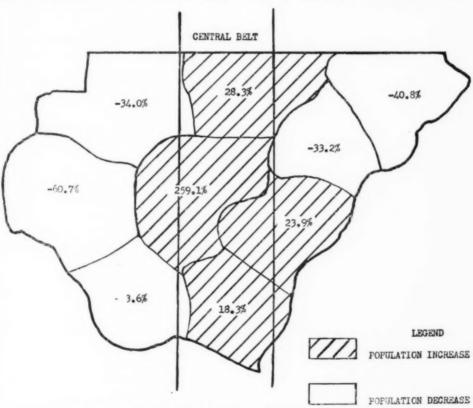


Figure 1. Percent of Population Change by Militia Districts, Rabun County, Georgia, 1900-1940

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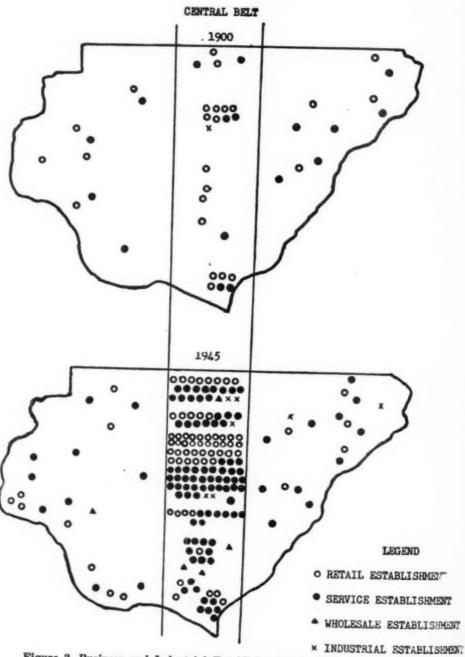


Figure 2. Business and Industrial Establishments in Rabun County, Georgia, 1900 and 1945.

ty, and the richest. There, more sons of farmers have remained to farm. Others who were displaced from farms in other parts of the county as a result of land purchases by the government or the power company have sought to locate there, whenever possible.

The increased density of population in the central belt and accompanying decline in the hinterlands have altered considerably the social and economic structure of the county. The old neighborhood groupings that lie outside the central belt have sometimes been disorganized, and almost everywhere their importance has declined. Their depopulation has created difficult problems in the maintenance of public roads and schools. The per capita cost of services in these areas is high and is looked upon by some of the citizens as an unwarranted burden on taxpayers.

Within the central belt have developed the county's better organized communities with their village trade centers whose business and service establishments have given the belt economic dominance in the county (Figure 2). The more adequate establishments here have attracted the patronage of those who remained in the hinterlands, so that the old outlying retail and service establishments have been gradually forced out of business. Along with the concentration of business in communities of the central zone has come the location of consolidated schools there (Figure 3). Village churches have attracted some farm people, but the old neighbor-

hood churches have more successfully resisted the movement toward the central belt than have schools and country businesses. The consolidated schools with their basketball teams have become recreational centers and. with the motion picture theater at the county seat, are a valued part of the life of the people living in or associated with the institutions of the central belt. The location of the welfare and agricultural agencies at the county seat has not only given that place a heightened importance but has increased the county-wide contacts of the people and made them more aware of their county as a community.

The central belt presents two distinctly different pictures. On the one hand, in and around its villages as well as along the main highway connecting them are a number of marginal families who live in extremely poor houses and make their living at seasonal work on farms or at other part-time jobs. On the other hand, under the leadership of the better-trained and more well-to-do people in the villages a demand has risen which is bringing better educational and other public facilities to the county.

As contrasted with the rest of the county, the central belt is relatively urban. It relies more on a money economy, although gardens and cows provide many of the villagers with some food. Social contacts are distinctly more secondary than in the hinterlands, but even in the central-belt villages a primary group atmosphere continues to prevail.

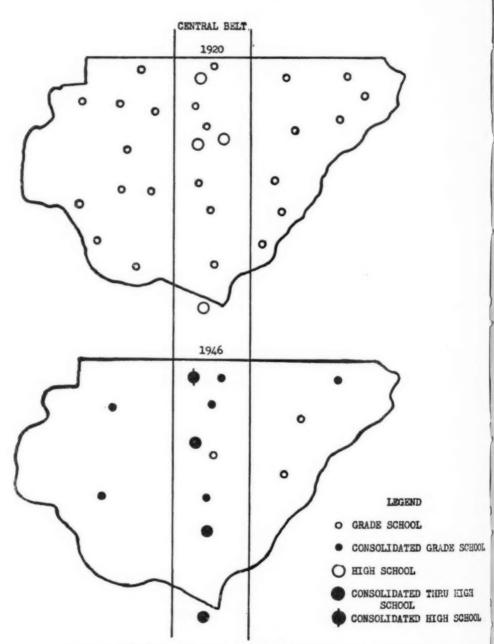


Figure 3. School Consolidation in Rabun County, Georgia, 1920 and 1946.

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# Informal Group Behavior Dominant

In Rabun County the family surpasses all other groups in the allegiance it commands. Although by no means equally important, neighborhood and kinship groupings occupy a significant place in the life of the people. Social interaction within these three groups is largely informal.

Although there are subtle pressures making for uniformity in the relationship of family members, there are no rigid or formalized rules. Etiquette, husband-wife and parentchild relationships, emotional ties, division of labor, etc., tend to be worked out within each family group without any insistence on set patterns. certainly without any emphasized self-conscious following of rules. Many of the conventionalities which are required by so-called "polite" society are ignored in the farm families of Rabun County. Compared with more sophisticated family relationships, the interaction among members of these families might be considered rather rustic and inconsiderate. Yet beneath the surface the emotional ties among family members are strong. Older children assume the care of brothers and sisters without compulsion. A real sense of mutual dependency arises from functioning together in obtaining the necessities of life. The stranger who quickly accommodates himself to the informal manners of the typical family finds a hearty welcome, but "smart" city folk are disliked.

For many years the neighborhood groups were self-sufficient, each with

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its cross-roads store, its school, and its churches. Although neighborhoods have declined in importance, they continue to be fairly strong. Neighborhood interaction is informal—people visit frequently, swap labor, and in case of sickness or death readily extend mutual aid. When common problems arise, as the cleaning of a graveyard or repairing a church building, the men just get together and do the job; but this is less common than in former days. If the neighborhood is called upon by the county, state or nation to take part in a drive, the individual who usually takes the lead in the church, or regularly assumes responsibility when an emergency arises, must personally undertake the canvass or it will not be done at all.

Although kinship groups show a high degree of concentration within neighborhoods, they usually extend beyond these limits. Kinship ties are often influential in church and other neighborhood activities. Even county-wide organizations sometimes feel the influence of these informal groups. Visiting among related families has declined somewhat but large family reunions are held. On Saturdays there is much visiting among relatives on the streets of the county seat. However, some kinship groups have grown so large they have almost completely lost their in-group character.

The dominance of primary group experiences with their high degree of informality is reflected in the structure and function of formal organi-

zations in the county. Thus the neighborhood horizon and way of doing things are an obstacle to communitywide organizations where structure and function have to be conceptualized. Leaders who have customarily assumed neighborhood responsibilities and more or less informally invited their friends to help out are lost when they have to operate on a secondary level. Even when county-wide or community-wide formal organizations are established, informal action is preferred and the formal organization functions informally. Committees fail to meet; a natural leader assumes responsibility and operates individually: the structure of the formal organization ends with the paper on which it is written.

Simple and informal social organization was fairly adequate for meeting the people's basic needs until recent years. Then came the invasion of higher standards of living from without, at the same time that a decline was taking place in the traditional self-sufficient economy. The old ways of meeting wants and obtaining security failed. Certain economic and welfare developments which would have helped satisfy new needs and obtain for the people a higher degree of security have not materialized because, although the old patterns of group action were too obsolete to be effective, they inhibited new social inventions through which these developments might have been realized.

# **Increasing Dependency on Outside**

Before 1900 the people of Rabun County, having little contact with the

outside world, were practically selfsufficient. As measured by local standards, its farms and forests provided an adequate living. The county's economy was mainly geared to self-sufficiency, and neither the standards of living of the outside world nor those of the present day were known. However, as isolation grew less in the last 45 years, a division of labor in providing goods and services, along with those goods and services, invaded the county. This invasion made difficult the survival of many features of the domestic economy and created new wants, which the economy could not satisfy. Thus the county has become increasingly dependent on the outside. Its public schools could not operate as they do for more than two months without State funds. Its health and welfare departments receive much help from State and Federal sources. Its highways have been and are being built mostly with outside funds. Even the churches are partially supported by denominational contributions. Although the fact is somewhat less evident, the farmers, too, have received considerable financial assistance in recent years through the various Federal agricultural programs which have attempted to help them to adjust to the economy of the great society from which they can no longer remain detached.

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Explanation for this growing acceptance of outside aid is to be found mainly in three directions: (1) limited economic resources in some fields, (2) failure to utilize fully other possible resources, and (3) a tra-

ditionally simple and informal social organization.

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For many years, simple, general. and self-sufficient farming has been the principal occupation of the people, but much that passes under the name of farming scarcely deserves the name. Underemployment of farmers is extensive, if unrecognized. There is not enough farm work to keep all of them busy all of the time. The people grow most of their food, but cash incomes are low. The physical environment has set limitations on agriculture. Because of the land purchases by the Forest Service and a private power company, the relatively small amount of available cultivatable land has decreased over the years. With the removal of land from agriculture and a fairly steady increase in population, the number of people living on the land is excessive from an economic viewpoint. Moreover, the cultivatable land is so broken by mountains and ridges that fields are irregular and small prohibiting effective use of farm machinery. Because of these and other less important factors, incomes from farming are low.

Except for sawmilling, industry here has always been negligible. For other than forest industry, the county has little to offer in the way of raw materials. Moreover, in incances where industries have considered locating in the county, little encouragement has been given by local business people.

The tourist business had a promising beginning but has not developed to the extent that available natural resources could have made possible. The people have never foreseen the real possibilities in this business and their own low standards of living have handicapped the services they have offered.

The simple, informal social organization which for many years satisfied the needs of the people has become so deeply rooted in their value system that it is an obstacle to the formal organization that modern society requires for effective functioning. As a result, the people have not been able to bring group action to bear on adjusting to many of their present-day needs.

Because of the conditions described above, the people have been both unwilling and unable to respond effectively either to the changes in their self-sufficient economy which contact with the outside world has forced on them or to the prevailing standards of living of the outside. But the outside world has been dynamic. Something approaching its standards of education, welfare, health, ways of earning a living, and income have been imperatives for people everywhere. So it was that the outside, often through governmental agencies, has introduced improvements in these fields.

The process by which the people have come to depend on the outside for assistance in the maintenance of basic public services and the improvement of their farm economy has not been uniform. In the case of health facilities there was local recognition

of needs. Although some local doctors apparently may have used compulsion rather than education in introducing new facilities, other local leaders and a number of the other citizens clearly recognized the need for these facilities. In the case of consolidation of schools and compulsory attendance, there was at first little feeling of need: the new patterns were brought into the county by the state department of education. By degrees the people are accepting these educational improvements and are now actively seeking outside assistance to carry them further.

On the whole, attitudes of resistance to outside help have not been as strong as might be expected. Most opposition has occurred because of agency "red tape"—opposition which is undoubtedly rooted in the traditionally informal group behavior of the people. But what would appear on superficial examination as resistance to outside interference is often nothing of the kind. It is simply the failure of outside agencies to recognize the conceptual and habitual background of the people in terms of social organization. These people have little apperceptive basis for understanding complex social organizations. For example, the F.S.A. medical and dental associations, now defunct here, were attempts to have people participate in social organization so much more complex than they had known that they simply had no understanding of the structure or techniques required for maintaining them.

As the county has come to depend more on the outside, the individual citizens have come to depend more on the county as an administrative unit. for the county has become an important instrument through which the outside, particularly State and Federal agencies, has brought assistance to the people. This has meant that, more than ever before, the people look immediately to their county government and the agencies allied with it for basic public services and guidance in their farming. So, paradoxically, out of a growing dependence on the outside has emerged a more vigorous county community that performs many new functions.

## Theoretical Implications

An interesting hypothesis for further investigation presents itself in the ecological influences set forth above. Throughout the General and Self-Sufficing Farm Region, and particularly in its southern Appalachian subregion, it is highly probable that where the topography resembles that found in Rabun County-and there are undoubtedly many similar areas —the breaking up of isolated neighborhoods and the movement of the population to a central zone, or to a zone where transportation routes have developed, has followed much the same pattern as that found in Rabun County. This hypothesis deserves the attention of researchers in the field of ecology.

If placed on a continuum constructed to classify areas with respect to the formal character of group life, Rabun County would certainly take a

position toward the informal end of the continuum. There are undoubtedly counties that have the opposite situation, as well as counties that occupy intermediate positions between these extremes. A field of fruitful investigation in which a systematic analysis of differences in group behavior may be made is the study of an adequate sample of counties in regard to the formal-informal character of their social organization, in order that a continuum or scale can be demonstrated. Such a continuum might become the means for breaking down the dichotomized thinking associated with the informal-formal, primarysecondary, sacred-secular classifications and might display what is more probably the true situation—a dis-

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tribution along a scale between extremes. Moreover, it might reveal clues to causation with respect to changes in position of areas along the scale. As yet we know little about the relative position of representative areas of the country with respect to informal or formal, primary or secondary, sacred or secular, rural or urban behavior of their group life, and we perhaps know even less about the specific factors involved in movement along the scale between these extremes. What is needed is an attempt to set forth, with sufficient case studies, a continuum that will at least provide a systematic approach to differentials and an opportunity for comparative analysis whereby factors related to the differences may be discovered.

# **Adventures In Books**

By Anna Mansfield Clark†

#### ABSTRACT

In rural areas there is a heterogeneous population with a blending of many cultures. One may gain an understanding of the human elements in these many nationalities through recently published novels and biographies. This literature gives examples of assimilation, intolerance, discrimination and successful acculturation. In these vivid portrayals of the life of foreign born Americans one may have an interesting adventure through books.

#### RESUMEN

En las áreas rurales hay una población heterogénea en que se funden muchas culturas. Se puede obtener un conocimiento de los elementos humanos en estas nacionalidades a través de novelas y biografías recientemente publicadas. Esta literatura da ejemplos de asimilación, intolerancia, discriminación, y aculturación con éxito. En estas descripciones vividas de la vida del americano nacido en el extranjero se puede obtener una interesante aventura a través de los libros.

<sup>†</sup> La Jolla, California.

Many of us live in a thought community, conditioned by our inheritance, relatives, friends, group connections and our work. The writer of this article has had an interesting experience in moving out of an Anglo-Saxon thought community into a world which has touched, however slightly, the thought communities of foreign born American citizens. Part of that adventure was carried out by means of books. She wishes therefore to share that stimulating experience with other would-be explorers.

As we look over the rural areas of the United States, we find a heterogeneous population, with a richness in their blended cultures. The Italians have brought their skill to the vineyards of California and New York. They have done well in the South with cotton, rice, strawberries and sugar cane. Around many cities their market gardens flourish. Immigrants from Great Britain are scattered along the Atlantic coast, are to be found in the lumber and wheat areas of the Middle and Northwest, and on the great cattle ranges of Texas. The French Canadians still cross the northern border to work in lumber camps. The Poles and their descendants are farmers in the Middle West and in Texas; in New England they have taken over abandoned farms and by skill and hard work have improved the impoverished soil and made it productive. In the early days Croatians from Dalmatia sailed to their windiammers California in where they mined gold and later developed fruit growing. Swedes and Nor-

wegians are spread over the northern Middle West and stories of their settl. ing are sagas of our own history. The children of these early settlers have moved on to the rich new lands of the Pacific Northwest where the cold winters hold no terrors for them, and the wide rich farming land is a never failing lure. Germans are here in great numbers and widely scattered. As agriculturists they have been a great factor in American prosperity. Colonists from Russia have come across both oceans and are on the land along the Atlantic coast and in the Middle West. The Mennonites from Germany migrated to Russia to escape military service. From 1874 on, they came to America and were known as German Russians. They settled in the sugar beet areas of Colorado, the wheat sections of Washington and the fruit growing regions of California. In the San Joaquin Valley of California the Armenians tend their vineyards. In the same Valley is a small settlement of Assyrians who among their vineyards have developed an island of Old World culture. The Mexicans and Filipinos, long a source of "stoop labor," have made their great contribution in the development of the vast lettuce and asparagus fields in California. Wherever there is intensive farming and where skill is required in reclaiming land the Japanese are to be found. These and many other nationalities form a large part of the whole citizenry of the United States.

Following the Industrial Revolution these people and their descendants have moved back and forth between f

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rural and urban areas. They have worked on the roads and railroads. on the waterfronts and in mines. They have drifted in and out of lumber camps and fished in the seas' deep waters. They are to be found in the mills and foundries and wherever hard and dirty work is to be done. In industrial agriculture, wave after wave of immigrant labor keeps flowing over the land.

The books noted in this article are a sampling of the literature which is available for an adventure in understanding these foreign born Americans who have contributed so much to the building and prosperity of our

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#### **Background Books**

It is not the aim of this article to list or review the many scientific books written about foreign born people in the United States, but to mention only a few which highlight points that novels and autobiographies emphasize. Such a book is The Nation of Nations by Louis Adamic. In it Mr. Adamic has written of American unity in the diversified pattern of thirteen nationalities. He outlines the cultural contributions of these groups, and tells of the many great men and women who have come to America from other lands and here found their opportunity. Immigrant Gifts to American Life is by Allen H. Eaton, one of the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation. His book deals mainly with exhibitions of arts and crafts and folk festivals. Its aim is "to bring out the immigrant's contribution to

the cultural life of America, and to make him feel that by his very origin he has something to give, be it ever so little, which his new country could not have without him." Brothers Under the Skin by Carey McWilliams is a history of non-Caucasian minority groups. These studies are well documented and form an invaluable reference book for study. Common Ground, the quarterly publication of the Common Council for American Unity, has articles by eminent people. and short stories of foreign born Americans and other minority groups as well as book reviews. Many of the stories have later appeared in book form. It is a publication that no one interested in our foreign born citizens can afford to be without.

Within the last four years photography has taken its place in interpreting foreign born Americans. American Counterpoint by Alexander Alland is such a book. Mr. Alland was born in Russia and describes his book as a family album of the great American family whose members have come from many lands. These individual and group photographs show customs, costumes and social relations. Pearl Buck's introduction emphasizes the fact that when many nationalities can live together in peace with the idea of freedom, America has given the greatest contribution to the world's

most complex problem.

## The Place of Literature in Interpreting Americans of Foreign Descent

Assimilation, Discrimination, Acculturation. These are abstract terms,

syntheses of innumerable and varied life experiences. The sociologist who is studying these experiences must of necessity be limited in his research. A secondary means of understanding is through literature, fiction and autobiography. The author of such material, through his sensitized, sympathetic and keen appreciation of situations, bewilderments and other emotions can take the reader into a rich field where he may enter intimately into the lives of many types of people and may see America in a fresh light. In autobiographies and novels are found the universal struggle for bread, for homes, and for recognition. The sore spots in the social structure are uncovered and readers may become aware of new values for which they can work in building more stable and united communities. If the novel is true to life it offers not only a study of cultural inheritance, but the emotional reaction to a new and different culture: it lifts the reader to intense awareness through emotion and imagination. In autobiography one may feel with the writer the struggle that goes on in his mind when he is living through that difficult period, of discarding one culture for another or carrying over life habits into a new environment. In these recorded experiences with their warmth and color the essence of those abstractions is demonstrated.

There are great rural classics such as My Antonia by Willa Cather, and O. E. Rolvaag's trilogy which all rural leaders have read as stories of the frontier. From the viewpoint of this

article they have further significance as examples of the early interpretations of the contributions of Bohemians, Russians, Austrians, Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans to our country. These stories interpret to us neighborliness created out of common struggle, and hardships endured for that precious freedom which the frontier offered.

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In the last ten years the stories of foreign born Americans have come more rapidly. Two regional novels appeared in 1942 which told of the California vineyards. The Cup and the Sword by Alice Tisdale Hobart spread out before the reader the sunny grape growing valleys of California, where the French Jean Philip Rambeau and his children and grandchildren made their wine. It is a story of California from 1920 to 1940 in the days when fortunes were made out of the fertility of the soil. The family feuds and violence are a part of the picture, and the story is over-crowded with characters, but they all play their part as a family in the wine industry. The Vineyard by Idwal Jones is a story of the Swiss Italian Regolas who made their famous wines in the Napa Valley from the opening of the century to the coming of prohibition. Quite a different picture is given of Italian Americans by Jerre Mangione in Mount Allegro. In this story Mr. Mangione writes of his childhood among laughter-loving relatives and friends in Rochester's Sicilian colony. In this series of sketches the Italians respond to joyous or difficult situations, and one begins to understand

their temperament as one watches and listens with the little boy to the gaiety about him.

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The history of the Chinese in the United States is well told by Carey McWilliams in Brothers Under the Skin. Dr. Richard La Piere of Stanford University has also outlined the history of the Chinese in California in his novel When the Living Strive. It is the tale of a Chinese immigrant brought to San Francisco during the Gold Rush. He worked in the mines. lumber camps, as a house boy in San Francisco, and finally became a merchant in Chinatown. During his fifty years in America Lew Gan was discriminated against, persecuted by Tong wars, and lost his savings over and over again. At last he died, and his body was taken to China to rest with his ancestors. Lew Gan is a lovable, beguiling character. faithful to his Chinese codes and traditions. This book, written with distinguished prose, is valuable for the historical material woven into a novel. Shake Hands With the Dragon by Carl Glick is the tale of the growing friendship and admiration of an American for his Cantonese friends in New York's Chinatown, Mr. Glick describes in detail the Chinese codes and culture and the adaptation of the second generation to American life.

The Greeks are latecomers and have as yet produced little in fiction to interpret their life in America. In 1945 Gold in the Streets by Mary Vardoulakis was published. She won the Dodd, Mead Intercollegiate Fellowship for this her first novel, Miss

Vardoulakis is the daughter of Greek immigrants to New England, and wishing to write their story she spent four years in their Cretan homeland. She draws a vivid picture of the contrast between peasant life among the olive groves of Crete and the mills of Chicopee, Massachusetts. She tells the story of a group of Greek peasants who came to America in the early 1900's, of how they discarded their gay peasant clothes and shaved their beards, but kept their folkways. The coffee house in Chicopee is their social center and the owner of the restaurant their friend and guardian. He writes and reads their letters and helps them adjust to the new world. One of the fine scenes in the story is the singing of the liturgy by this group of homesick men on their first Easter in America. At first they dream of returning for the spring planting or the fall harvests, but since they find no gold in the streets they send to Crete for their women to help them work in the mill and for the priest to establish the Church. The whole action takes place within the Greek community. The mill management is not even imagined. The American customs of dress and freedom are copied, but relations with American people are not mentioned. It is a realistic and honest study of Greek customs, attitudes and celebrations.

"To trace the story of Mexican immigration to the United States is to trace the rise of great regional industries, railroading, mining, citrus growing, sugar beet plantations, winter vegetables and cotton harvests,

The flow of Mexican population into each state coincides with its emerging development and prosperity," says Mrs. Ruth D. Tuck in her book Not With the Fist. This is a detailed, objective and sympathetic study of Mexican Americans in a southwestern city. This city Mrs. Tuck has named Descanso. She describes the early Mexican settlement, the incoming of the Americans, the rapid growth of the town and its industrialization. The Mexicans who came between 1910 and 1930 were "not fought with the fist but pushed around with the elbow." Descanso is a fine study of a town with its attitudes and blind spots, as well as a vivid picture of a minority group. In order to show what is lost and what is gained by this group, Mrs. Tuck describes life in a Mexican village and builds a composite picture of a Mexican whom she calls Juan Pérez. He and his family come to Descanso and there are many well told stories of the family and group relationships within the Mexican Colonia. Because Mexican families were large many young men who were American citizens went into the army. There great potential leadership was developed. Mrs. Tuck feels that this leadership should not be lost.

Allen Moody has written a series of sketches in *Sleep in the Sun* about the adventures of José Mercado and his wife Mama Chula who live with other Mexicans in the peaceful San Marqué Canyon near Oxnard, California. They and their neighbors do enough work on their little farms to make a meager living, and the rest of their

days they spend in siestas and fiestas, visiting or watching something unusual, such as the building of an unwanted schoolhouse. These Mexican people have lost few of their folkways, superstitions or manners while living in the California valley. All they acquire of the American living consists in using canned goods, broken down automobiles and, most desired of all, "talking machines." The stories are told with charm and humor.

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There is a quite distinct group of Spanish-Mexicans called Hispanos. They can not in any sense be classed as foreign born, for their ancestors have been in New Mexico for three hundred and fifty years. These Spanish speaking people are some of the oldest American citizens and comprise eighty per cent of the population of the state. Carey McWilliams in his fine article "The Forgotten Mexican" in Brothers Under the Skin, says, "Along the Rio Grande River in New Mexico and its numerous tributaries are located some of the most fascinating and fabulous villages in America. In such villages as Nambe, Chimayo (founded in 1692), Cundiyo, Cordova and Truchas one can visit today communuities which have remained almost wholly unaffected by world developments during the last two hundred years. Inhabited by the descendants of the original Spanish colonists these villages still speak the Spanish of the time of Cervantes. To visit the villages is not only to form an intense admiration for the people themselves, but to become deeply impressed with

the integrity of their social life and of their culture. For these are really living peoples and theirs is a genuine folk culture." - - - "The Hispano villages represent the last vestiges of a semi-communal form of agriculture in America. Here most of the tools and implements, primitive as they may be, are nevertheless owned, used, and shared in common. Here the villagers live and work together in a compact social group, planting, cultivating, irrigating and harvesting their crops together. These villages should be preserved, not as antique representations of a forgotten way of life, but as a pattern of a rural living which has much to commend itself to us at the present time."

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Dorothy Pillsbury in her delightful stories of "Adobe Life" published in Common Ground shows how the mores of Medieval Spain live on. She describes the grace of her Spanish speaking friends, their folk festivals and quiet life in the isolated adobe villages. She looks out on a world frantically hunting for unity and then at the Pueblo Indian, Spanish American and Anglo and sees them living together and scrambling their arts, skills and customs until it is hard to tell them apart. Robert Bright has written a story of a Hispano village in The Life and Death of Little Jo whose real name was José Juan de Dios Leonardo Sandovilla. When Little Jo's father was sent to jail and his mother died, he grew up under the watchful care of the village uncle Cornelio. What Cornelio did mainly was play the violin and sit under shady

portals or on doorsteps. Illiteracy was common in the valley. Only Rafael. the storekeeper who had attended high school, knew how to keep account of all he sold, which people could seldom repay. The story follows Little Jo through his childand youth, his struggles and loves and heartbreak, and his first experience in voting for an "American gentleman" to be President. Finally he rides to Camp in the bus with Dick Huepschant from Bluewater, both Americans to fight in the war for liberty. The story is told with simplicity, warmth, and humor, and as one follows the growing boy as he learns to understand people, absorbs the wisdom of his folk, learns to make music on his father's old guitar and worships the God of his church, one is captivated by the charm of the tale and convinced that he is turning a page in the folk history of America.

Milla Zenovich Logan who writes Bring Along Laughter is the daughter of Yugoslav parents. Her great grandfather came to California in the days of the Gold Rush, before there was a Yugoslavia. Since then Serbians from Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro kept coming and formed a family group in a foreign city where they led their own life of gay adventure. At the beginning of the book one is as bewildered as if one had opened a door on a large family gathering of cousins, aunts and uncles, and many relations by adoption, including a little grandmother. The grandmother Baba Yané is the mentor on marriage customs, man-

ners, and magical cures made from herbs grown in the good rich earth. But Baba Yané is more than a dispenser of wisdom. She it is who keeps them gay, for "After all," she would say, "you got to work hard for a laugh in this country." Life in this large family group is one continual festa with much food and laughter. Only Milla's mother speaks English and tries to guide her little daughter along the path of understanding the strange, cold "Amerikantzi." The twenty-two episodes that make up the stories tell of rescuing prized treasures from the great San Francisco fire, Baba Yané's experiences with the Chinese herb doctor, the contrast between an American and a Serbian Christmas, the arrival of Uncle Dushan who was a disciple of Leo Tolstoi and would eat nothing but lentils, and the gay Sunday feasts with much noise and singing which so shocked the neighbors. Each member of the "colona" emerges with distinct characteristics, and as one follows his or her adventures the book becomes a mine of information on customs. The stories are told with affection and understanding which gives the book a distinct flavor.

The stories of Americans of foreign birth are not all gay and peaceful. There are powerful stories which tell not only of hardships but of lack of understanding and cruel discrimination on the part of citizens who have been in this country for a longer time.

#### Discrimination

"The test of a Democracy," said

Archbishop Temple, "is how it treats its minorities."

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One need not go far today to meet intolerance. It blazes at us from news headlines, and falls almost unsuspected from the lips of our mild mannered friends in strange stereotypes, such as—Negroes are lazy, Italians are gangsters, Japanese are sly, Mexicans are dirty, and so on ad infinitum. Even worse, direct action is being practiced against whole groups.

Wallace Stegner, teacher of creative writing at Stanford University. is the author of the text of One Nation, a Life in America prize book with photographs taken by Look. It is more than a picture book, for the focus adopted by the editors of Look and by Mr. Stegner is on the prejudices, racial, religious or cultural, leveled against Oriental races, Mexicans, Indians, Negroes, Jews, and the Catholic Church. It is a book with beautiful photographs and clear, unsentimental statements of facts. Fortunately the book ends with noting upward trends of social change helped by such experiments as "The Springfield Plan," "Parkway Gardens, N. Y.," the effort to establish permanent F.E.P C. and the recently inaugurated educational program of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. to create better race relations.

No one is more determined to root out such un-American attitudes than Carey McWilliams. His book, *Prejudice*, is a tragic story of how racism begins and is deliberately fostered by groups whom he does not hesitate to name. In this book he deals with the Japanese and shows that America's

future in the whole Pacific Basin depends largely on the success with which we solve the question of the Japanese minority within our borders. Since the Japanese are now scattered across the country it is a book that might be read with profit by people in many parts of the United States. Like all Mr. McWilliams' books it is well documented. One reads the calm statements with a sense of shame, and an increasing understanding of and sympathy for the young Nisei who gave so much during the war and are still contributing as civilians to their country America.

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In 1946 Citizen 13660 was published. The text and drawings are by Miné Okubo. It is a remarkable document of an historic event, namely the moving of 110,000 people of Japanese descent from the Pacific Coast to Relocation Centers. Miss Okubo and her brother are American citizens and were studying at the University of California, where Miss Okubo held the highest art honor for two years, a traveling fellowship on which she studied in Europe till the outbreak of the war. These two young Nisei were first sent to Tanforan and then to Topaz in the Utah desert. Miss Okubo has depicted life in these two centers through her sketches and running comment. Both sketches and comment are objective, full of humor and wormth and free from bitterness. Her people were bewildered, patient under privations and never questioning the fundamental assertions of American democracy. Miss Okubo's sketches have been

shown at the New York School for Social Research and at many art museums. Ralph Martin, who served as combat correspondent for Stars and Stripes and later covered the battles of Germany for Yank, has written Boy From Nebraska, the story of Ben Kuroki, an American citizen of Japanese descent. It begins with a heartening picture of a united family and a neighborly community in the farming area of Nebraska. There Mr. Kuroki never felt prejudice. In the army camps he had heartbreaking experiences. Not only were the rank and file cruel, but his superior officers refused to give him a chance for advancement. It was only when he made an airplane crew that he found the democracy in which he believed. Common dangers and mutual respect bound these men together. Having made thirty missions over Europe and with his crew miraculously escaping after bombing the Ploesti oil fields, he returned to America one of the most decorated men in the army, and with the Distinguished Service Cross. Again he met discrimination and prejudice. He was refused the chance to speak over the radio, but the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco was more open minded and invited him to speak at their Friday luncheon. The talk was a superb one and was published in periodicals. Mr. Kuroki was then sent to talk to his fellow citizens behind barbed wire in the Relocation Centers. This experience made him eager to prove his loyalty by fighting in the Pacific area. He had great difficulty in being accepted for this duty, but at the insistence of many prominent people and the fairness of some high officials he was allowed to fight against the Japanese and returned with a total of fifty-eight missions. Since his discharge he has spoken on many platforms, for he believes the war is not won till democracy applies to all men. It is a young man's book, written about a young man, by young men, for Bill Mauldin writes the preface. It has the pace and drive and belief in a cause that youth possesses.

America is in the Heart, by Carlos Bulosan is a brave, bitter, beautiful and dreadful autobiography of a peasant Filipino who at the age of thirteen came to America with a dream. The first part of the book describes peasant life in the Philippines, its poverty, family life and folkways. When Carlos landed he was picked up on the waterfront and sold for five dollars to a cannery in Alaska. Eventually he escaped and began his many trips by box car into many states for agricultural labor. He met everywhere discrimination, hunger, despair, and fear. Again and again he fled to escape brutality only to be driven back into vile surroundings, the only place a Filipino could go. Though he was uneducated he knew that in Lincoln's America he should have opportunities. Between the descriptions of flight and fear are rare poetic passages full of the appreciation of beauty. Mr. Bulosan contracted tuberculosis and during two years in a county hospital he was introduced by a friend to the world's great

literature. He read hungrily, finding in the rebellion of people against oppression a cause for which he could work. He joined the labor movement and tried to free his people, to explain to them his faith in America and his belief in their fundamental dignity. At last through his poetry and autobiography Mr. Bulosan has come to himself with an amazing belief in America. He has the ability of drawing the reader into the vortex of his struggles with an unusual feeling for the use and rhythm of words.

## The Second Generation

Perhaps the most significant struggle among our citizens comes when the American children of foreign born parents face two cultures. Irving Long Child in his fine study Italian or American, The Second Generation in Conflict says that youth related to two cultures is often faced with alternative sequences of behavior. He describes at length the rebel reaction against being an Italian or Italian American, the in-group reaction against American assimilation and a striving for dominance in American society of the Italian group, and the apathetic reaction or retreat from the conflict which is more complex than the other two.

Second Hoeing by Hope Williams Sykes takes one into the sugar beet fields of Colorado. It is the story of Adam Schresissmiller, a German Russian and his large family. To Adam, America means money and the change in status from a day laborer to a renter. Money comes from good crops of beets and to this end he drives his

children night and day. To the children of the family, America means education, freedom from their father's driving anger, fun and good clothes. Among them is open rebellion, sullen hate, and broken bodies from excessive child labor. As the story was developed the Church with old country customs was the social as well as the religious center, and to the mother her Church and her Bible gave standards, integrity and calm endurance. When she died the eldest daughter took over the responsibility of the family and grew like her mother in depth and poise. After a romance with a young American she married a young German Russian who made as fine an adjustment to the best in American life as she did.

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William Saroyan's widely read story My Name is Aram is like a series of etchings, each sketch full of humor and pathos. The Armenians of the great agricultural area surrounding Fresno were a homesick folk. They drew close to each other and were sad, remembering their homeland, and became joyful when the work was done and they could sing. Who can forget little Aram as he followed poetic Uncle Melik across the acres of desert planted to pomegranates. Uncle Melik's struggle with cactus, animals and Mexican labor makes a funny and pathetic tale. The relation of little Aram to American groups and pressures is an interesting study. Richard Hagopian in The Dove Brings Peace tells another story of Armenian home life. Mr. Hagopian was born of Armenian parents, and

after leaving high school settled on music as his career. While presenting a concert at Bowdoin College he met Robert Tristram Coffin who persuaded him to compile and publish his short stories. Mr. Hagopian has a sensitive, artistic understanding and in these sketches gives the life of an Armenian boy, whose life is overshadowed by an ill father. He and Saroyan give similar pictures of the old men who idealize their homeland and mourn their persecutions. The role of the mother is well drawn. She holds the family together with her insistence on old world standards and values. The pull and haul which the children experience between these values and the apparent values of the new world illustrate the conflicts of the second generation.

Our Own Kind by Edward McSorley is the story of Ned McDermott and his grandson Willie. Ned is an Irish foundry worker who can neither read nor write and knows nothing of the refinements of life, but has a passionate desire that his grandson shall have all that he has missed. Ned is a wise and lovable character with undeviating integrity. He has a fierce devotion to his native Ireland, a hatred of the English, a reverence for his church and fondness for whiskey and a good fight, often waged for tolerance and fair play. The tale follows the development of Willie through his adolescent struggles, sins and victories, with always the wise, tender and strong hand of his grandfather guiding him. The relationship between the old man and the boy is done with rare insight. The

scene is laid in Providence, Rhode Island, but it might be a village for the McDermott community is limited to the foundry, the church and the family. This is a first novel and one hopes that Mr. McSorley will write another, showing how Willie works out his fortunes after his grandfather's death. The book is redolent with the Irish temperament and adjustment or non-adjustment to American life.

The story of Italian peasants and their adaptation to American life is told by Guido D'Agostino in Olives on the Apple Tree. Mr. D'Agostino describes different types: the pick and shovel group who are removed from agriculture and degenerate in their country slum: the young doctor who wishes to become an American quickly and copies undesirable customs, while his sister is loyal to her Italian standards and copies only the best; Marco, the itinerant laborer, who believes that only as Italian peasants return to the cultivation of the soil can they be creative contributors to American life. He takes over an old farm and illustrates his philosophy.

One of the finest examples of the adjustment of the second generation to two cultures is given by Pardee Lowe in his autobiography, Father and Glorious Descendant. Mr. Lowe is a graduate of Stanford and Harvard with extensive study abroad. This series of incidents in the life of a wise, dignified Chinese father and his son are perfect examples of equal emphasis on both cultures. Chinese customs, beliefs and family life are seen

through the eyes of a son who venerates that way of life, but counts himself as an American and is proud of it. The book has beauty, poetry and humor.

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## Acculturation

In the literature that shows the successful adaptation of the foreign born to American life there are always elements of crisis, struggle and final victory. Those persons who make the transition more easily have a sense of humor and an intense appreciation of the American ideals and of liberty and opportunity.

One of the most vital and interesting autobiographies is The Soul of an Immigrant written by the sociologist Dr. Constantine Maria Panunzio. It is an absorbing story of the desperate struggles of a sensitive Italian boy against prejudice and for an economic foothold. It differs from many other autobiographies in that Dr. Panunzio tells of his inner spiritual reactions and despairs, of his struggle with language and his fight for an education. It is also a story of victory, of integration into American life and of rare devotion to and keen appreciation of American ideals.

Not all books listed in this section are of equal merit. Sophie Halenczik, American, by Rose C. Feld is a gay and gallant little book, and its importance lies in Sophie's appreciation of America's heritage of freedom and her enthusiastic loyalty. She is a Czech widow who comes to a conservative Connecticut town. She does her bit in war time and sends her son into the army with pride. To sell war

bonds is part of her contribution to the cause and she speaks her mind to a rather stupid descendant of Revolutionary anscestors. Her old world wisdom and subtle handling of situations makes a readable story. Ambrose Flack represents himself as a soldier recovering from a war wound and in a quiet spot in Up-State New York watches and becomes intensely interested in The Family on the Hill. This Czech family consists of father and mother and sixteen children. They live from hand to mouth on their dilapidated farm and have no desire to keep up with the Joneses, but are loyal, happy and contented within themselves and afraid of nothing. They work and play and eat and meet emergencies without excitement, getting rich experiences out of everyday life. The father works for the W.P.A. and the mother has calm common sense and virtues which stem from her peasant life in the old country.

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Golden Wedding by Jo Pagano represents the adaptation and almost complete Americanization of a family of Italian descent. The story begins in the Colorado coal mines and shifts to Denver, Salt Lake City and finally to California. The united family weather the terror of the Black Hand and of want during the depression. One son becomes a famous artist, another a doctor. The daughters marry and raise families. The story ends with the golden wedding of the parents, a gay and touching climax to a long life of struggle and success. The Italian customs produce no conflict

in the second generation. Only the father's stern disapproval of a son who becomes a prize fighter and the mother's grief make a temporary rift in their relations. Mr. Pagano has drawn from his own experiences and gives us the fire and spirit of an Italian family which holds together and has courage in the face of disappointment. They can laugh and be gay always with hope, since they are Americans.

Anything Can Happen was a Bookof-the-Month Club selection and delighted many people. It was written by George and Helen Papashvily about George who is a Russian and who landed in America twenty years ago in the day of crowded ships. He came to these shores with two skills. He was a worker in decorative leathers specializing in the ornamenting of crop handles, and a swordmaker. They were of little use in his first job as dishwasher or in any of his many other occupations which took him from coast to coast. When he reached California he married a young woman studying at the University of California, and since then they have settled in Pennsylvania where they have a farm and Mrs. Papashvily runs the Moby Dick Shop in Allentown. Their experiences are not altogether new. but what is new and delightful is the story Mr. Papashvily and his American wife have written as George tells it with his unpredictable tongue. It is a case study in the adjustment of the alien. Each experience is viewed with a sense of adventure and rich humor. One puts down the book with a new

belief that our land is a place where anything can happen, and also with a deep sympathy for the hundreds of new adventurers who have brought and are bringing their hopes to these shores.

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# NOTES

# Edited by Paul H. Landis

# PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF POPULATION AS FARM AND NONFARM

Resumé of a talk at a meeting of the Population Association of America at Princeton, New Jersey, May 18, 1947, which was designed to introduce a discussion of possible changes in the farm population classification.

Because of the close inter-relation between the farm-nonfarm classification and the urban-rural classification, it may be well to review briefly the historical and international background of the urban-rural classification, which is by far the older of the two classifications and the only one which can be discussed on an international basis, since the farm classification of population has not been made in any country outside of the United States and in fact would not "fit" local conditions in many countries, especially those in which most of the farm population lives in villages.

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The International Statistical Institute had arranged for a session at the ill-fated meeting in Prague in 1938 on the possibility of a uniform international classification of population as urban and rural. Information had been collected from 25 or 30 countries as to their current classification of population as urban and rural. These materials were summarized in one of the reports of the Institute. The different classifications were essentially of three types. In some countries the urban population was the population living in cities or towns or minor civil divisions with population above a certain figure, the most common figure being 2,000. This is essentially the type used in the United States. In another group of countries the statistical classification was based on the political classification of the minor civil divisions or communes. Rural population, for example, was the population of all communes politically classified as rural communes. Information was not obtained, as it might have been, on the method

by which communes got their political classification as rural or otherwise. In two countries, the rural population was made up of the population of those minor civil divisions in which a given percentage (60 percent or 66 percent) of population or gainful workers were engaged in agriculture. This factor also formed a part of a rather complex classification scheme in some other countries. To some extent, then, connection with agriculture has actually formed a part of the basis for urban-rural classification.

The urban-rural classification in the United States had its beginning in a table which appeared in a Statistical Atlas, prepared under the supervision of Francis A. Walker, and published in 1874. In this table the population living in cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more was designated as urban; and figures were presented not only for 1870 but for all the earlier censuses back to 1790. While different definitions of urban and rural population were adopted in the next three censuses-a different definition in each census—the figures for cities of 8,000 and over were published as a basis for historical comparisons in the reports of every census down to and including 1930.

Substantially the present definition of urban population in the United States was adopted in 1910; and in this Census for the first time, fairly extensive tabulations of various population characteristics were made for the urban and the rural population. In previous censuses, the urban-rural classification was for the most part limited to population totals, without even such simple classifications as age or sex. Minor changes

in the details of the urban classification, especially as applied to New England towns, were made in 1920 and again in 1930; in 1940 the 1930 definitions were followed without change. Between 1930 and 1940, figures for places of 2,500 or more were compiled for all the censuses from 1900 back to 1790, and in the 1940 reports were presented historical data on the current 2,500 basis running back to the First Census.

The most serious fault that can be found with the present urban-rural classification grows out of the fact that to be included in the urban population a place must not only have a population of 2,500 or more but must also be an incorporated place. In about two-thirds of the States there is no difficulty on this point because the State laws provide for the incorporation of places even smaller than 2,500 as villages, towns, or cities, and such places are rather generally so incorporated. In some of the other States, however, there are considerable numbers of rather large places which are not separately incorporated and for which up to this time there have been no official Census population figures. Considerable numbers of minor civil divisions in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and a few places of 10,000 or more in other States have been classified as urban under a set of special rules; but this is only a partial solution of the problem. Informal approximate population figures were published for about 1,500 unincorporated places on the basis of the 1940 Census and plans have been made for establishing more or less arbitrary boundaries for the larger places and assigning separate enumeration districts to the areas so designated, so that official figures may be obtained for these places in the next Census. With these figures available, the basis of the urban classification might be changed in 1950 from incorporated places of 2,500 or more to places of 2,500 or more, whether incorporated or not. There is, however, one other important set of areas of unquestionably urban characteristics which this program would not bring into the urban classification. These are the thickly populated areas just outside the boundary of

cities, which areas in many instances have not acquired place names or separate identity and would thus not qualify as "unincorporated places." Plans are under way for establishing boundaries for these areas also, but it is not certain that this can be done in time for the 1950 Census. My own recommendation is that no change in the definition of urban population be made until official population figures are available for these areas, as well as for the more or less independent areas already referred to as unincorporated places.

The classification of population as farm or nonfarm was introduced in the 1920 Census at the urgent suggestion of Dr. C. J. Galpin. who was then in charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, in the Department of Agriculture. No figures on farm population were published in the regular reports of the 1920 Census and the only tabulation that was made for the country as a whole was one in which the farm population was classified by color, nativity, sex, and age, with figures for States but not for counties. In addition, very detailed tabulations of the farm population were made for eight selected counties. The results of these detailed tabulations were published in a joint report and later included as an appendix to the monograph on Farm Population, published in 1926, in which were presented the results of the tabulations made for the United States as a whole.

Farm population was defined in 1920 as comprising all families living on farms (with specific reference to the instructions for the farm census) and also the families of farm laborers not living on farms but living outside any incorporated place.

In 1930, the definition was limited to families living on farms, thus omitting the supplementary farm laborer families of 1930. Two paragraphs from the 1930 Instructions relating to the question, "Does this family live on a farm?" may well be quoted:

147. If the family lives on a farm, that is, a place for which a farm schedule is made out and which is also locally regarded as a farm, the answer should be "Yes," even

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148. Occasionally there will be a place for which a farm schedule is required, but which is not commonly regarded as a farm. A greenhouse establishment located in a city or village and having little land attached would be an example. For such a place the entry in column 10 should be "No." Likewise for a one-time farm on which no farming is now being done, the place being occupied as a residence only, the entry in column 10 should be "No," even though the place is still called a farm. Where the farmer and his family do not live on the farm, the entry should, of course, be "No."

The farm population figures obtained in 1930 seemed to be reasonably comparable with those of 1920, in spite of the change in definition. The ratio between farm families and farms, for example, was practically the same. The optimistic assumption of comparability was justified in the text of the 1930 report on the assumption that the seasonal increase in the farm population between January 1, the date of the 1930 Census, and April 1, the date of the 1940 Census, was sufficient to offset the loss of the supplementary farm laborer families. Both in the instructions and in the definition printed in the reports it was stated that the farm population classification was based solely on place of residence, that is, that the farm population comprised all persons living on farms, without regard to occupation.

In 1940, the definition of farm population was not changed and there were no substantial changes in the instructions to enumerators. When the 1940 totals were obtained, however, it seemed evident that the application of the instructions had not been uniform with that of 1930. This was indicated in particular by the ratio of farm households to farms, which had increased to 1.18, as compared with 1.06 in 1930. This was the

Farm population figures were obtained also in the mid-decade farm censuses of 1925 and 1935. The farm schedule for 1925 asked simply for the number of persons living on farms, with no specific instructions about reporting the population in families or households other than that of the farm operator. While no serious question as to the validity of these figures was raised at the time, it later became evident that the 1925 returns were somewhat incomplete, presumably because of the omission of secondary households in cases where there was more than one occupied dwelling on the farm.

In preparing the farm schedule for 1935, questions were devised to avoid the underreporting of 1925; in particular, there were questions asking specifically for the number of occupied dwellings on the farm and then for the number of persons living in these dwellings. The farm population returns in 1935, as checked by the ratio of farm dwellings (or families) to farms seemed to be reasonably comparable with 1930, the ratio being 1.07, or only slightly above the 1.06 of 1930. Perhaps because of depression conditions, the number of farms reported in 1935 was larger than in any previous or subsequent census. Because of the much larger number of farms reported, the farm population figures were rather high and were considered by many persons as too high for fair comparison with the 1930 figures.

In the 1945 Farm Census, a radical change in the definition of farm population was introduced, a change designed to overcome the tendency to introduce too many persons or households into the farm population which seemed to have been in operation in

actual increase in the relative number of non-operator households on farms, but rather that so large a nominal increase could hardly in its entirety represent actual additional households, since there were no widespread changes in conditions between 1930 (or 1935 when the ratio was 1.07) and 1940 which would seem likely to result in doubling or trebling the number of second and third households on farms.

first evidence that the definition of farm population was not behaving as it should.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is not necessarily assumed that the whole difference in these ratios was chargeable to variation in the application of the definition, since there might have been some

1940. The farm census enumerators were instructed to omit from their count of occupied dwellings on farms those dwellings "rented to others," this phrase being interpreted as rented for cash rent. The results of this count, again as appraised on the basis of the ratio between farm households and farms (1.07), seemed reasonably comparable with the figures for 1930 and 1920, in spite of the fact that there had been in 1945 a rather drastic reduction in the nominal coverage of the definition. An analysis of the households included, other than those of resident farm operators, gave the following results: Of the whole number of such households, 59.4 percent were occupied by households of hired workers, 8.9 percent by households of landlords, and 20.9 percent by households of relatives of either the farm operator or the landlord, while 10.7 percent were designated as "other and unspecified," comprising presumably, for the most part, cases which, if the returns had been complete, would have been placed in one of the other three classes listed. This classification, it may be noted, is the basis for the statement, above, that those households physically located on the farm which were excluded under the new 1945 definition, were those which paid cash rent.

In the 1920 farm population monograph, which represents the beginning of the series of census figures on farm population, the farm population was published in its entirety and in those tables presenting figures for the entire population the three classes were as follows:

Farm population Village population

Urban population (excluding urban farm) In this classification, the "village" classification was exactly the same as that later designated rural-nonfarm. The urban farm population, which amounted to only 255,629, was subtracted from the urban rather than, as in the later classification, being omitted from the farm group. This procedure was doubtless justified in a publication where the main emphasis was on the farm element and where there was little need to maintain the integrity of the traditional urban group.

In 1930 it was decided to adopt something like this three-fold classification as a basis for detailed tabulations, in place of the urban-rural break which had been extensively used in 1910 and 1920. It was further considered that, for general purposes, it would be better to maintain the urban total, including the small numbers of urban farm residents, and there was thus established the three-way classification: urban, ruralnonfarm, and rural-farm-which was used in the 1930 and 1940 Censuses. There has been occasional demand for detailed figures for the urban farm group but the numbers involved seemed farm too small, especially when distributed by States and counties, to justify any separate tabulations for this group beyond a simple count of population and a count of occupied dwelling units by

It may be noted incidentally that the urban-rural classification, which seems to have operated much more satisfactorily than the farm-nonfarm, does not depend at all on questions asked in the field, but is made in the Census Bureau by assigning to the urban classification the entire population of geographic areas having certain simply defined characteristics. Partly because the urban-rural classification seems to be well established on a satisfactory basis, whereas the farm-nonfarm classification is behaving in a much less satisfactory fashion, it is suggested that the discussion be limited mainly to the farm-nonfarm classification.

It is specifically stated in the text of the Census reports of 1930 and 1940 that the present farm population is made up of households living on farms, without regard to occupation. This means that the farm population is based on physical place of residence, without any element of relationship either to any specific farm or to agriculture in general (though Dr.Galpin's original concept did contain something of this element). Nevertheless, there seems to be current among the users of the statistics the notion that the farm population does have some connection, other than mere physical location, with specific farms or with farming in general. The farm population figures obfice for 189 sor it

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tained in the Farm Census of 1945 apparently do have such a relationship. The occupants of farm dwellings reported in this Census are for the most part the households of either farm operators, farm laborers, farm landlords, or relatives of operators or landlords, as indicated above. There might be some question with regard to the category made up of relatives, but the other groups have a fairly definite relationship to the farms on which the dwellings are located.

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If it is desirable that the farm population concept should contain this element of relationship to the farm, or at least of relationship to agriculture in general, then a new definition should be devised for the Population Census of 1950. Because of the different point of view of an enumerator who enumerates population as well as agriculture, it might not be practicable to adopt for 1950 the nominally simple definition used in the 1945 Farm Census. Some difficulty would grow out of the fact that in the classification of dwellings by tenure which has formed a part of the population census since 1890, any dwelling which is not owned by some member of the family which occupies it is classified as rented or tenant occupied.

Perhaps, though it would be possible to exclude specifically from the non-operator households which are candidates for inclusion in the farm population, those which pay cash rent for the dwelling, thus making explicit in the instructions an important factor which, by a piece of good fortune, seems to have operated as an implicit element in the 1945 procedures.

The first question for discussion, then, is perhaps whether or not the farm population concept should include some requirement of specific connection with the farm (either the farm on which the dwelling is located or with agriculture in general). Then, if it is agreed that such an element should be introduced into the concept, this element must be specifically and simply defined. And finally, instructions must be prepared for the 1950 enumerator which will make it easy for him to apply the restrictive definition in his designation of households as farm or nonfarm, without interfering with the maintenance of the present definitions of tenure which would form a part of the population or housing census.

Leon E. Truesdell.

Bureau of the Census.

# TWO POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTY-SEAT TOWNS IN NORTH CAROLINA

The county as a political and administrative unit is important to the people of North Carolina. The real significance of this unit, however, culminates in the county-seat, as it is in this center that one usually finds the real pulse of the county. The county-seat is even more important in the lives of people living in the more rural counties. "I am going to the county-seat today" is a familiar

During the 1930's, the depression decade, a host of new services came into existence and the resulting agencies and personnel

and important expression as it may mean court is in session, taxes are to be paid, a deed, or perhaps a mortgage, is to be recorded, a political rally with guest speakers, or the trip may be for the purpose of chatting with the county agricultural agent concerning newer production methods of a particular crop or livestock. The visit might be for the purpose of caring for one of these matters, or it might be to consummate other business of equal importance because many new services have been added during recent years.

¹ Two illustrations of this point: Some college students, in preparing written county reports, refer to their county as "she". Also, even though many of the units are small with respect to both area and population, counties combine functions, agencies and personnel in a very few fields or activities.

were concentrated in the county-seat. Some of the depression agencies may be recalled: C.W.A., F.E.R.A., W.P.A., Resettlement Administration (later F.S.A. and now F.H.A.), A.A.A., Soil Conservation Service, etc. Some of the established agencies expanded functions and added new personnel under the impetus of the depression; for example, county health departments and departments of public welfare. The presence of these agencies and personnel in the county-seat undoubtedly had a tremendous effect on the people as they began to look more and more toward that center.

The concentration of the people's political, economic, and social agents in the countyseat logically gives rise to the following question: How do county-seat centers differ from other centers of about the same size? The purpose of this note, therefore, is to analyze two small segments of the main question; namely, how did the rate of population growth in county-seat towns compare with that in other centers? and, how does the racial composition of the populations differ?

## Population Growth, 1930-1940 2

An analysis of the data for North Caro-

seat centers increased at a higher rate than that in other centers in the decade 1930. 1940.3 In fact, as shown in Table I, only two size classes do not conform to this generalization. There are only five centers in the state with 50,000 or more population and all of these are county-seats. Since there are no centers to compare with this group, these could be eliminated from the state total. If this procedure is followed, then the total increase for the county-seats becomes 20.6 per cent as compared with 15.5 per cent in the centers which are not county-seats. (This last statement does not include the unincorporated areas.) During this decade. the population of the state increased by 12.7 per cent and the corresponding increase for all urban centers was 20.3 per cent and 10.0 per cent for the rural population. Population on farms increased only 3.7 per cent, but the rural-nonfarm increased 23.3 per

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The nonwhite population in the state is sufficiently large to warrant a separate analysis: 28.1 per cent of the population is nonwhite and the Negro alone makes up 27.5 per cent of the total. It has been necessary,

3 North Carolina is composed of 100 counties and, consequently, there are 100 county-seats. In five counties, however, the county-seat is unincorporated and these centers have been eliminated, necessarily, from most of the discussion for lack of data.

TABLE I. NUMBER OF CENTERS AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF POPULATION IN COUNTY-SEATS AND OTHER CENTERS 1930-1940 BY SIZE, NORTH CAROLINA

| Size of Center  | C                       | County-Seats                          | Other Centers           |                                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| in 1930         | Number<br>of<br>centers | Percentage<br>change in<br>population | Number<br>of<br>centers | Percentage<br>change in<br>population |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unincorporated  | 5                       | 24.0*                                 | _                       | 11.0**                                |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 500       | 13                      | 15.1                                  | 236                     | 14.6                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 500— 999        | 13                      | 18.7                                  | 102                     | 11.6                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.000—1.499     | 10                      | 16.4                                  | 32                      | 11.6                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1,500—1,999     |                         | 5.5                                   | 20                      | 15.5                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2,000—2,499     | 999                     | 20.5                                  | 10                      | 3.9                                   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2,500—4,999     |                         | 26.1                                  | 14                      | 23.4                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5,000-9,999     |                         | 19.8                                  | 7                       | 30.8                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10,000 and over |                         | 15.5                                  | 3                       | 10.0                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

<sup>2</sup> Only identical places are used in this comparison, i. e., those centers appearing as incorporated in 1930 but not in 1940 have been eliminated as have those centers which appeared as incorporated for the first time in 1940.

<sup>\*</sup>As given in Rand McNally and Co.
\*\* Unincorporated territory as given in U. S. Census for 1930 and 1940.

TABLE II. PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF COUNTY-SEATS AND OTHER CENTERS 1930- 1940 BY SIZE AND COLOR. NORTH CAROLINA.

|                        | Wh               | ite              | Nonwh            | ite              |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Size of Center in 1930 | County-<br>Seats | Other<br>Centers | County-<br>Seats | Other<br>Centers |
| 1,000—1,499            | 22.7             | 9.0              | 29.5             | 25.6             |
| 500—1,999              | 5.7              | 17.1             | 4.9              | 8.3              |
| 2.000—2,499            | 21.6             | - 0.2            | 17.1             | 13.8             |
| 2.500—4,999            | 24.4             | 21.5             | 30.4             | 31.5             |
| ,000—9,999             | 18.4             | 30.3             | 23.4             | 33.7             |
| 0,000 and over         |                  | 7.7              | 17.7             | 16.8             |

however, to eliminate centers of less than 1,000 population in the color analysis for lack of data. The discussion of racial composition is confined to 69 of the 100 county-

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During the period 1930-1940 the white population in the state increased 14.8 per cent. The white population in county-seat centers increased 15.9 per cent as compared with 15.6 per cent in other centers. If the five largest centers are eliminated, for the reason stated above, then the white population in county-seats increased 19.8 per cent instead of 15.9 per cent as compared with 15.6 per cent in non-county-seat centers.

During the decade the nonwhite population of the state increased 8.5 per cent. The nonwhite population in county-seats increased 19.1 per cent as compared with 21.3 per cent in other centers. It is of interest and importance to note that for both types of centers, county-seats and non-county-seats, the nonwhite population increased faster than the white even though the opposite was the case for the state as a whole. This appears to be a function of urbanity in that the Negro is and has been more concentrated in urban centers than the white population of the state.

## Proportion Nonwhite, 1940

In 1940, the nonwhite population comprised 28.1 per cent of the population in the state. The nonwhite population made up 33.0 per cent of the total in the couny-seat centers but only 22.0 per cent in other centers. Table III shows that the proportion of the population classified as nonwhite increases as the size of center increases for county-seats. This does not hold true for other centers as in only one size class, and that is rural, is the percentage above the state average.

## Conclusion

- (1) The data for North Carolina show that the population in county-seat towns increased faster than in other centers during the decade 1930-1940. The proportional parts played by migration, differential fertility, or other factors, have not been analyzed in this study.
- (2) The nonwhite population makes up a much larger proportion of the total in county-seats than in other centers.
- (3) Like the depression during the decade of the 1930's, the war and reconversion crises during the decade of the 1940's have undoubtedly had tremendous effects upon county-seat towns. Many new activities con-

TABLE III. PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CLASSIFIED AS NONWHITE IN COUNTY-SEATS AND OTHER CENTERS BY SIZE, NORTH CAROLINA, 1940.

| Size of Center in 1930 | County-Seats | Other Center |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1,000—1,499            | 24.2         | 24.3         |
| 1,500—1,999            |              | 17.6         |
| 2,000—2,499            |              | 32.0         |
| 2,500—4,999            | 29.3         | 20.2         |
| 5,000—9,999            | 31.3         | 14.6         |
| 10,000 and over        |              | 27.4         |

nected with the war came into existence—selective service, civilian defense, expanded Red Cross activities, war bond drives, farm labor programs, and a host of other activities—and all of these agencies and activities culminated in the county-seat. The total effect of these factors has yet to be determined.

(4) These two decades have certainly made rural people more conscious of their county as a unit and especially are the rural people more aware of the functions of the county-seat town. These factors give rise to a sizeable number of significant research topics and leads.

Selz C. Mayo.

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## RURAL FAMILY EXPENDITURES FOR MEDICAL CARE

Recent demands for more adequate medical care at lower costs have been nationwide in scope, but they have been especially marked among groups interested in the welfare of rural people. Surveys of the health situation in the United States, made by such agencies as the Committee on Costs of Medical Care, the United States Public Health Service, and the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, have repeatedly pointed to the greater number of unmet health needs among farm families, as contrasted with those of urban families.

Farm families, in general, have been ignorant of, or apathetic toward, the benefits of good medical care. The lack of adequate medical facilities available to them, together with their inability to pay the costs of good medical care (at least prior to World War II) also have limited the amounts of medical service which rural people have received. A number of specialized studies of medical expenditures have been made in an effort to determine why these facts should obtain. Various analyses of the types of medical goods and services utilized by farm families, the amounts used, and the costs of these medical items have been made from time to time in an attempt to throw more light on the subject of the present inadequate medical care received by rural people.

The present study investigated not only the amount, kind, and cost of medical goods and services used by a group of rural families, but also certain factors which might be expected to affect these expenditures. Examination was made of the medical expenditures of 148 farm families living in 27 counties of Wisconsin. All of the families studied were Farm Security Administration (now the Farmers' Home Administration) borrowers. Schedules prepared by the authors were filled out by the Farm Security Administration home supervisors who interviewed families with whose situations they were familiar. By this means information was secured about the family's medical expenditures, and the data were verified by reference to the family's home account book and the stock of home medicines on hand.

Data covered the calendar year 1944 and were secured early in 1945. The 148 families represented 774 persons. The mean family size was 5.2 persons, but the modal size was 4. Net money incomes for the group ranged from minus \$896 to \$6,351, with the average \$2,237. Less than 11 per cent of the families had expenditures for family living, inclusive of medical care, below \$500, and only 6 per cent spent more than \$1,500 for these items. Nearly one-third-32.4 per cent-of the families had family living expenditures between \$750 and \$1,000. Among the important findings on medical care were the facts that nearly 5 per cent of the net income and 12 per cent of the family living expenditures went for medical care in the average family, and that there were 31.8 days lost, per family, from school or work due to accident or illness. This amounted to 6.1 days per person per year.

For the average family in the group the total expenditure for medical care was

0

\$106.51. This amount was divided among the various items of medical expense as shown in Figure 1. Physicians, including surgeans, obstetricians, and other specialists, in addition to general practitioners, received nearly one-third, or 31 per cent of the total medical payments. Hospital and dental bills constituted the next largest portions with 16 per cent each. Medicines and medical supplies took 13 per cent of the total medical bill. Less than a tenth of the medical dollar was spent for each of the following items: payment of previous year's bills (8 per cent); eye care, including services of oculists, opto-

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metrists, and payment for glasses (7 per cent); miscellaneous health expenditure, including health insurance, clinic fees, and other unspecified medical expense (5 per cent); chiropractor (3 per cent); and practical nurse (less than 1 per cent). Although expenditures for trained nurse and midwife were included among the items asked for, along with the other medical personnel, none of the families used these two types of service during 1944.

Further facts about these families' medical expenditures are shown in Table I. Here it is seen that the majority of families had

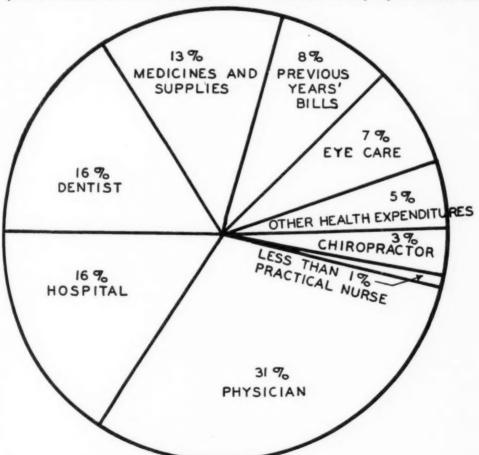


Figure 1. Percentage Division of Total Medical Expenditures per Family among Various Items of Medical Expenditure, 148 Wisconsin Farm Families, 1944,

TABLE I. Number and Percentage of Families Having Expenditures for Various Items of Medical Care, 148 Wisconsin Farm Families, 1944.

| Item                    | Families Having<br>Expenditures |        |          |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------|----------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Item -                  | 1                               | Number | Per Cent |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Medicines and Supplies  |                                 | 147    | 99.0     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Physician               |                                 | 130    | 87.7     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dentist                 |                                 | 114    | 76.9     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eye Care                |                                 | 53     | 35.8     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hospital                |                                 | 41     | 27.7     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chiropractor            |                                 | 26     | 17.6     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Previous Years' Bills . |                                 | 24     | 16.3     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Misc. Health Expense    |                                 | 13     | 8.8      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Practical Nurse         |                                 | 2      | 1.3      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Registered Nurse        |                                 | 0      | 0.0      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Midwife                 |                                 | 0      | 0.0      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

expenditures for physicians' services (87.7 per cent), dentists (76.9 per cent), and medicines (99.0 per cent). Although only 27.7 per cent of all the families had expenditures for hospital bills, the average expenditure for this item formed a relatively large part of the total medical expenditures (see Figure 1.) Twenty of the forty-one families had hospital expenditures falling between \$50 and \$100, while six additional families had hospital bills of more than \$100. Less than half of the families had expenditures for eye care, chiropractor, practical nurse, and miscellaneous health expense.

Expenditures for medicines which, as was seen, were incurred by all but 1 per cent of the families, amounted to \$10.96 per family per year, on the average. The kinds of medicines used were classified by the authors as cold and headache remedies, antacids, vitamin and mineral supplements, laxatives, and special medicines. Nine out of ten families purchased medicines for colds during the year, while three-fourths of them bought some kind of laxative. Approximately onefifth purchased antacids and vitamin and mineral supplements. Medicines for use in special cases were purchased by two out of five families. Altogether, there were 586 different medicines purchased during the year by the families studied, but only 120 of these, or 20.4 per cent, had been prescribed by physicians.

Medical supplies were classified as antiseptics, liniments, first aid supplies, and other. More than half of the families purchased antiseptics and more than threefifths bought liniments during the year. Only 14 per cent purchased first aid supplies, and 8 per cent bought such other supplies as turpentine, corn plasters, and camphor.

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The small proportions of total medicines and medical supplies which were prescribed indicate that much of the medical buying of these families was done at the suggestion of other persons than physicians. A total of 102 families listed 9 different sources of information from which they had secured knowledge of the unprescribed medicines and supplies they used. Some families named several sources. These sources, and the number of families naming each were classified as follows:

| Custom, common     | k  | n   | 0  | V | v] | le | d  | g | e,e | 1 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 39 |
|--------------------|----|-----|----|---|----|----|----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Family remedies    |    |     |    |   |    |    |    |   |     | 0 |   |   |   |   |   | 0 |   | 23 |
| Radio              |    |     | *  | 6 |    |    |    |   |     |   |   |   |   |   |   | × | * | 18 |
| Physician          |    |     |    |   |    |    | 9  |   |     |   |   |   |   |   | 0 |   |   | 15 |
| Newspaper & ma     | g  | a.2 | zi | n | ı€ |    |    |   |     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |
| advertising        |    |     |    |   |    |    |    | * |     | * |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 13 |
| Druggist           |    |     |    |   |    |    |    |   |     |   |   |   | 0 | 0 |   | 0 |   | 12 |
| Relatives, friends | 3  |     |    |   |    |    |    |   |     |   |   | 0 | 0 |   | 0 |   |   | 11 |
| Watkins & Raleig   | gl | 1   | s  | a | 10 | 25 | ST | n | e   | n | l |   |   | 0 |   |   |   | 6  |
| Nurse              |    |     |    |   |    |    |    |   |     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 4  |

According to this list families bought medicines and medical supplies on the recommendation of medically-trained persons (including physician, nurse, or druggist) in only 31 cases. The families were influenced in their purchasing of medical goods in 110 cases by commercial advertising, custom, or unskilled persons.

In an attempt to determine what caused the farm families to spend as they did for items of medical care, a number of factors which might presumably explain the experimental data were studied. Such factors as the amount of net income, the amount of total family living expenditures, family size, family health conditions, and the age of the children in the families showed definite relationships to expenditures for medical care. The amounts spent for medical care generally increased with net income, but

the proportion spent was essentially constant at about 4 to 5 per cent for all income levels except the lowest (below \$1,000), at which it was 10.3 per cent. Similarly, the proportion of total family living expenditures going for medical care was constant at about 11 per cent for all expenditure levels except the lowest (under \$500), at which it was 25.6 per cent; the absolute amount spent for medical care, however. generally increased with an increase in total family living expenditures. Medical care expenditures increased with family size, but did so at a decreasing rate. As was to be expected, family health conditions, measured by the number of days lost from school or work due to accident or illness, directly affected the amount of medical expendituresfamilies having many days of illness had higher medical costs than families having few days of illness. In families with the same total number of members, those families with young children had greater medical expenditures than did others with older children.

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Medical expenditures seemed to be essentially independent of the amount of education of the husband or the wife. The geographical location of the family within the State of Wisconsin affected medical expenditures only when the necessity of home calls by the doctor or the need for specialized medical services not available in the immediate locality added transportation expenses to the medical bill.

A number of questions are posed by the results of the study. The negative relationship between formal education received by the family's heads and the amount of expenditure for medical care is an example. The seeming lack of correlation may partially be explained by the fact that so many of the husbands and wives completed their education at the eighth grade. Thus no real comparison on the basis of varying levels of education was possible. However, the large number of families selecting medicines on the advice of neighbors or salesmen, or at the suggestion of advertisers, leads us to believe that lack of education or at least of knowledge is a factor determining the type if not the amount of medical care used. Further work needs to be done on this point.

The role of group pressure as a determinant of medical expenditure is a further factor in need of investigation. Undoubtedly the customs of the family and the neighborhood, and the traditions of the group, are partially responsible for the type of medical care selected by the families. It would be useful and desirable to study the effect of group attitudes in determining such items as the amount of care given women at child-birth, and in explaining a lack of attempts to prevent such ailments as the common childhood diseases.

Another problem for consideration is the effect of high costs in determining the amounts spent for medical care. Even at high income levels the medical expenditures per family were small, compared to the estimated amount necessary to secure adequate medical care.1 This small amount of expenditure may be in part traceable to the high costs of hospitalization and to high fees for the services of physicians, dentists, oculists, and other medical personnel. This fact may also offer partial explanation of the extensive use of relatively low-cost self medication. To what degree is the family limited in its use of medical care by the cost of medical goods and services?

The use of a significant proportion of the total medical expenditure for payment of back bills, together with the use of so small an amount for health insurance leads to a final question: How feasible are various prepayment plans and why are they not used by more farm families? An evaluation of different schemes and formulation of plans for social action whereby costs to the family may be lowered would be welcomed by persons interested in the welfare of the farm family.

Jean F. Myers. May L. Cowles.

University of Wisconsin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Proceedings: National Health Conference, (Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, 1938), p. 57.

# **CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS**

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.;

## **Publications Received**

(\*Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

- \*1. Anderson, W. A. The population characteristics of New York State. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 839, 87 pp. Ithaca, Apr. 1947.
- Anglim, Wm. A. Farm labor supply centers and Mexican Nationals. 18 pp. Special Report Labor Branch. Production and Marketing Admin. U. S. Dept. Agr. Berkeley, Calif., 1947.
- \*3. Beers, Howard W. Mobility of rural population. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 505, 43 pp. Lexington, June 1947.
- Blau, Gerda and others. World fiber survey. 176 pp. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Washington, D. C., Aug. 1947.
- \*5. Blue Earth County Council on Intergovernmental Relations. A study of public health administration in Blue Earth County, Minnesota. 86 pp. Mankato, Minn., 1947.
- California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission. The people design the city. Pamphlet No. 13, 28 pp. Sacramento, June 1947.
- Carter, Robert M. The people and their use of land in nine Vermont towns. Vt. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 536, 73 pp. Burlington, Apr. 1947.
- \*8. Coddington, James W. and others. Hospital and health services in Arkansas. 138 pp. Univ. of Ark. Bul. 14. Research Series No. 12. Fayetteville, Ark., Aug. 15, 1947.
- Dorr, Mildred. Basic training for family living. Wis. Agr. Col. Ext. Serv. Special Cir. 12 pp. Madison, Mar. 1947.
- 10. Duerr, William A. and others. Farms

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- Garnett, W. E. Improving Virginia farm housing. A report to Farm Housing Conference. May 27, 1947. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Rur. Sociol. Rpt. 33, 8 pp. Blacksburg, June 1947.
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- \*15. Hollingsworth, Helen and others. Medical care and costs in relation to family income. A statistical source book.

  349 pp. Bur. Memo. 51. Second Edition—Federal Security Agency, Social Security Admin. Washington, D. C. May, 1947.
- \*16. Larson, Olaf F. and others. Ten years of rural rehabilitation in the United States. 433 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C., July 1947.
- Lawton, George and Stewart, Maxwell S. When you grow older. 31 pp. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 131. Public Affairs Committee Inc. New York, 1947.
- Leyburn, James G. World minority problems. 32 pp. Public Affairs Pam-

<sup>†</sup> Assisted by Elsie S. Manny and Arthur F. Raper.

- phlet No. 132. Public Affairs Committee Inc. New York, 1947.
- Pasto, Jerome K. Housing and employing migratory farm workers in New York. 27 pp. N. Y. Agr. Col. A. E. 585. Ithaca, May, 1947.

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# Rural Rehabilitation

[16] After some thirty pages-in Chapter 6 of the report Ten years of rural rehabilitation in the United States-in which the characteristics and resources of those lowincome farm families in the United States who have obtained standard rehabilitation loans are described, Dr. Olaf Larson sets forth two pages of major problems that such families have. He then states: "Examination of these problems must lead to the conclusion that nearly all have a source in the very nature of our society, its economy, and culture-and in the relationship of the individual and his family to this society. Few of these problems, the causes of the low-income status, lie wholly in the individual and his biological ancestors. These problems, therefore, should be responsive to social action." In 433 single-spaced mimeographed pages Dr. Larson and several assistants report the results of a penetrating and comprehensive study of a social action program that was particularly designed to attack these very problems.

The genesis of the rural rehabilitation idea is sketched and the objectives of the program are traced as they changed under different administering agencies, and particularly as understanding grew that many of the problems first thought to be emergency depression problems were, in fact, deep-rooted problems of rural poverty.

The description of the personal characteristics of the farm people who were assisted by the program, the size and composition of family, the age and sex composition of these people, their mobility, education, health, tenure, and occupational backgrounds, their levels of living, and their income and other resources, is a particularly valuable contribution.

Nine different rehabilitation tools and techniques are described and analyzed. Selection of the right combination of tools to meet the needs of individual families seems to be indicated as one essential condition for successful rehabilitation.

The report contains an appraisal of progress toward various objectives as interpreted for agriculture and the general welfare of the nation. The goals have been defined in terms of what the rehabilitation agencies have sought to help the families to achieve. It is pointed out that all families may not have had the same goals in sight, and that "many families may have reached goals set by themselves in terms of their desires and experience, and yet they may not have attained the end point which the rehabilitation agencies sought for them to achieve through the program." It is concluded that the question, "Has progress been made?" must be answered in the affirmative. but that whether gains have been as great as they might have been is an imponderable.

The chapter on the rehabilitation process is one of the best. In this chapter the factors which condition rehabilitation are further analyzed. It is shown rather conclusively that "because rehabilitation is directly concerned with people, it is affected by the total situation that impinges upon the farm family and its farming operations."

Readers of this journal who read Dr. Larson's summary of this report in the September 1947 issue should be warned that the summary does not do justice to the study. No short summary could. The whole report must be read to be fully appreciated.

How often we hear the question, "Why didn't some one study this problem or program at the time and write it up before the materials were lost and informed persons scat. tered?" In this case through painstaking search many valuable data were obtained and assembled, particularly information about the early years of the program, that might not have been available a few years hence. Their preservation in this report will make it a valuable source book. But it is more than that. The analysis of this "new social invention of major significance" should be of practical value today not only to those responsible for carrying out the rural rehabilitation program in our own country but to those who are dealing with problems of rural reconstruction in wardevastated and other impoverished countries all over the world.

It seems to this reviewer that one of the outstanding features of the report is the list of problems and issues included at the end of each chapter. Among these questions rural sociologists and others interested in rural life and the welfare of farm people will find many to ponder over. It is hoped that they will stimulate further research in the relatively neglected field of rural poverty. As a sample here (partly paraphrased) are a few of the questions raised:

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In view of (1) the rapid advance of agricultural technology and the resulting prospect of an abundant food supply with a constantly decreasing farm labor force, (2) the consideration that even though no decrease in the number of farm workers needed was in prospect, nowhere near all farm youth would be needed in agriculture, (3) the fact that farm enlargement is basic to making adequate units out of many of those now inadequate, but that adequate units equal in number to the inadequate ones could not be developed: Which low-income families should be given the opportunity for assistance? Which should be encouraged to move out of agriculture as a full-time occupation? Should young applicants, for instance, be encouraged to leave agriculture by refusal of rehabilitation assistance? Should

low-income farmers be forced to bear the brunt of agricultural adjustments unaided just because they have the least resources invested? For those families who want and are denied help, what other opportunities will be open which will provide commensurate returns and satisfactions? Should the selection of families be made only from among those applying, or, in the possible interest of national welfare, should interest be stimulated on the part of all who are potentially eligible? What are the implications for any effective long-range improvement through a rehabilitation program of the fact that the future of the lower income segment in our agriculture is inextricably bound up with the future of the national economy and the world society?

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RAYMOND C. SMITH.

## Health and Medical Care

[5] A pamphlet on public health administration describes the continued efforts of the Council on Intergovernmental Relations in Blue Earth County, Minnesota, to assist in integrating the local interest in health. The Council has given especial attention to public health administration primarily because it constitutes the most outstanding problem of the county as shown by local interest. The general governmental situation is analyzed and the inter-relationships of the activities of public and private organizations and agencies that have an interest in improving public health administration are set forth in detail.

This report emphasizes the great number of agencies and organizations that touch health matters directly and indirectly; the activities of each of these are catalogued and described. The financial situation is presented, indicating possible tax revenues available for health administration. The last two of the eight chapters of the report are devoted to a summary of the problems in public health administration, and conclusions and recommendations.

Three over-all conclusions are: that there tend to be too great a multiplicity of public and private agencies; that an effective public health administration can be achieved

only through the cooperation of local agencies and organizations, and an integration of local, State, and Federal programs; and that a really satisfactory public health administration can be achieved only insofar as the local attitudes of the people lead them to take full advantage of the various local, State, and Federal opportunities available to them.

[14] The report, Social aspects of hospital planning in Louisiana, contains economic and social data pertinent to health and hospital planning in the State. Special field studies supplemented data obtained from the United States Bureau of the Census, the Louisiana Department of Health, and medical directories. The facts are represented in graphic form through 51 charts and maps and 25 tables. Comparisons are made for the white and colored population. The analysis of mortality rates, hospital facilities, and medical personnel shows the present health conditions in the State. The mortality rates for colored people were higher than for wnites in all residential and age groups except those beyond 65 years. Irrespective of race, at all ages the residents of cities ranging in size from 2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants have the highest mortality rates. Different sections of the State vary greatly in medical and hospital facilities, but the greatest shortages occur in rural areas.

Part II of the report shows the number and distribution of the population, its composition and growth trends, educational status, levels of living, and economic resources. There is great need for more hospitals along with an increase of doctors and nurses and facilities for training them. The authors point out the advantage of a State-wide plan which would use local health facilities as well as those in neighboring states. They suggest a coordinated hospital service plan similar to that recommended by the United States Public Health Service. "Essentially, this plan embraces an interrelated network of facilities for a particular area ranging from numerous local health centers up through what have been termed rural hospitals, district hospitals, and finally a complete base hospital."

[8] Hospital and health services in Arkansas is the subject of a recent bulletin issued by the University and other agencies. The purposes of the study were (1) to collect detailed information about the hospital and public health center facilities available: (2) to bring together and analyze pertinent social and economic data which will help in making future plans; (3) to determine the need for additional hospital and health center facilties; (4) to draft a long-term plan to provide an adequate system of co-ordinated hospital and health service facilities to serve every community in the State. Information was obtained from records of institutions, through interviews, from previous studies, and from the State Department of Public Health.

A great need exists for hospital facilities for chronically ill patients and many communities are without general hospital facilities. There is a lack of trained personneldoctors, dentists, and particularly nurses. The authors recommend further legislation "to provide for the establishment, development, and enforcement of basic standards for the care and treatment of persons in hospitals and other institutions which render medical care; for basic standards for the construction, maintenance, and operation of hospitals; and for the administration of a long-term program to provide an adequate coordinated system of hospital and health service facilities to serve every community throughout Arkansas."

[15] A second edition of Medical care and costs in relation to family income has been published. This edition "contains the basic data on illness and the receipt and costs of medical care that were included in its first edition, as well as additional sections on economic characteristics of the population, vital statistics, health personnel and facilities, and voluntary insurance." The 317 tables are grouped in seven sections under the following headings: (1) Some economic characteristics of the popu-

lation; (2) Measurements of medical care needs; (3) Medical care expenditures; (4) Health personnel; (5) Health facilities; (6) Voluntary hospital and medical care insurance; and (7) State summaries.

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This publication may be obtained from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at \$1.25 per copy,

# Levels of Living

[22] The study, Trends in farm family levels and standards of living, makes use of census data obtained in the Quarterly Survey of Agriculture in 1945 which included information on many items not recorded in earlier periods. These "new bench marks" were newspapers, magazines, sewing mamachines, chines, washing self-heating irons, medical care, accidents, and organizational attendance. On other items for which earlier data were obtained, changes which have taken place since 1920 are shown, These included electricity, running water. telephones, automobiles, all-weather roads, radios, persons per room, and refrigerators. Charts and tables are used in comparing data for the United States as a whole and for three major regions-the North, South, and West. These comparisons show that more farm operators in the North have preferred items, although the West leads in several items. When changes between 1940 and 1945 are compared, the West most often shows the fastest rate of increase. The authors stress the need for "periodic reports that will measure with increasing accuracy and completeness the changing levels and standards of living of farm people in this country."

[28] A study of the Standards and levels of living of prospective settlers in the Columbia Basin Project was made in order to determine what level of living the settlers would demand and without the attainment of which they would be dissatisfied. Findings were based on data furnished by the 1935-1936 Consumer Purchases Study and by a special study of income, expenditures, and savings of settlers on the Vale and Owyhee Reclamation Projects. Data were

obtained for three population groups in the States of Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, and Kansas from which many settlers were expected to come. These groups were (1) a group of farm families in western Oregon and Washington selected as representatives of small full-time general farms; (2) a group of farm families from North Dakota and Kansas with wheat the predominant farm enterprise; and (3) a group of part-time farm families from western Oregon. It was found that there is a point at which farm families will go into debt in order to maintain their accustomed level of living, and also that there is a point where they begin to accumulate savings because they are relatively satisfied with their level of living.

A more detailed study of farm families in the Plains and Northwest showed (1) which types of goods and services the families add when incomes increase, (2) which types they sacrifice when incomes decrease, and (3) which types they insist upon having irrespective of income.

## Population

[3] Mobility of rural population is a study of changes in residence and occupation among rural people in Johnson and Robertson countries, Kentucky. Interviews with 564 farm households in 1941 furnished the data for this study and for two previous reports. Mobility in these counties was characterized by movements of individuals rather than of families. The majority of the moves were to nearby places, long-distance moves were to cities and were made more frequently by migrants from Robertson than from Johnson County. About half the migrant girls and about one-third of the migrant boys left home before they were 20 years of age. Fifty-three per cent of the girl migrants married under 20; for most of these, migration and marriage occurred at the same time. Migrants tended to remain in the class of population to which they first moved, whether it was farm, rural nonfarm, or city. Cities have received more of the recent than of the earlier migrants.

The majority of young people migrating to rural nonfarm areas as well as those going to cities had more education than nonmigrants. Migration was selective also with respect to family situations in the following ways: (1) "only children" were less mobile than others; (2) with two or more brothers and sisters, youngest members migrated less than the others; (3) first-born persons in large families migrated less than their brothers and sisters.

Migrants usually were found in the same occupations they first entered. There were more farm laborers among sons than among fathers, but the proportion of sons starting in a white-collar occupation was three times that of fathers. Two-thirds of the male migrants from Johnson County and one-third from Robertson were farm croppers, farm laborers or nonfarm laborers. One-fourth of Johnson County and one-half of Robertson migrants had white-collar occupations. The author thinks that it is not always the most capable youths who migrate to the cities, but that many leave because of their inability to succeed in farming.

[1] The population characteristics of New York State are described in a recent bulletin from Cornell University. The study, based on 1940 Census data, includes a wide range of population characteristics-race and nativity, sex, residence, age, marital status, reproduction rates, schooling, employment and occupational status, internal migration, and family composition. Comparisons are made between different groups within the State and between New York State and the United States as a whole. Five figures and 64 tables supplement the text. Some of the population characteristics of New York state are: (1) a large number in the productive age groups, especially young women in the urban areas; (2) a relatively small dependent population which is found largely in the rural areas; (3) reproduction below replacement rates for the State as a whole with rural areas producing in excess of replacement needs, but urban areas much below replacement rates; (4) concentration of Negroes and foreign-born in urban areas, particularly New York City; and (5) a large increase in the rural nonfarm population in recent years.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Howard W. Beers

Farm Management. By John D. Black, Marion Clawson, Charles R. Sayre and Walter W. Wilcox. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. xii + 1073. \$5.50.

Farm Management is presented in six parts-Introduction, Systems of Farming, Principles and Methods of Analysis, Problems of Management, Management by Types of Farming, and Finale. Part One consists of the history, economics and sociology of American farming and farm people. Part Two is more traditional farm management with description and analysis of six types of farming or farms-one-crop farms, specialized livestock farms, diversified-crop farms, etc. A number of actual case farms are described and analyzed, always in terms of the issues or problems about which the individual farmer must make decisions. Part Three generalizes and analyzes the economic principles which are illustrated in the case study of types of farms. Part Four covers problems of managing equipment, labor, land, financing and selling operations and the broader problems of buying, renting, planning and managing farm enterprises. Part Five applies the lessons of the three immediately preceding parts to broad types of farming-wheat, cotton, dairy, fruit, vegetables, etc. Part Six consists of one chapter on Agriculture in the National Economy.

Even in the four central parts, but much more in Parts One and Six, the discussion is more nearly what some would call general agricultural economics than it is traditional farm management. My own conviction is that the appearance of this book indicates that farm management has become of age or, as the Preface says, "Farm Management is applied Science—not just applied Economics, but also applied Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Meteorology, Psychology and even Sociology."

Sociologists will profit especially from

Chapters 1-6, 15, 35, 47, and 48 because they discuss some of the same topics with which rural sociology deals. It is not so much that the authors have bossewed ideas from the sociologists, although they freely do so, as it is that they recognize and discuss the interrelations between social, psychological, cultural and economic phenomena.

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The point is made that if farm management would serve the farmer in his day-byday operations, it must synthesize knowledge from many physical, biological and social sciences because the farmer himself "draws upon the sciences, using not one at a time but in various combinations." In the operation of a family farm, for instance, the enterprise of farming and the enterprise of rearing a family are inextricably interwoven. In the conduct of farm work there may be the choice betwen family labor and hired labor, or mechanization. In a lifetime program of farm operation there are the issues of making money, rearing a family and conserving the land. There is always the necessary choice of the use of income and expenditures, of buying more land or paying off the mortgage, greater mechanization, or improving the farm level of living by building a new house, educating the children, etc.

In the discussion of population facts and their relationship to farming, the authors present some of the same population data found in rural sociology textbooks and relate these data to migration and thus to farm labor supply, education, security, levels of living, etc. They say, "The most basic of all factors in determining net income is the ratio of population to other resources." "An industrial revolution goes forward much more easily in a country that is not overpopulated." "The proportion of the population engaged in agriculture depends upon birth and death rates, the number of nonfarm job opportunities available to the people, and to some extent, on the emigration policies of the country." "The most important circumstances determining the prevailing size of the farms in a country is the density of its population." They make clear that parts of all per capita equations are population data.

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In final analysis it may be said that sociology makes its contribution to farm management at those many times when and in those many situations where the farmer must make decisions which involve an understanding of non-physical and non-economic factors. It is almost the thesis of this book that farm management consists of making decisions and that good farm management consists of having the types of information and understanding at hand to make wise decisions. The authors recognize that social knowledge must be a part of this information and understanding. They present no preachments about this fact but weave that type of information into their discussions in a hundred places.

C. C. TAYLOR.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

As You Sow. By Walter Goldschmidt. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947. Pp. xvi + 288. \$4.00.

As You Sow is an essay in social reform that strikes deep. Too often reform is impeded by our haste to improve the lot of the more obvious victims. If illnesses in our economy are to be treated effectively, careful diagnosis must precede the therapy and this is the order Goldschmidt follows in his painstaking analysis of industrialized agri-

Industrialized agriculture means intensive production, a high degree of specialization, large investments, power equipment, cash crops, dependence on distant markets, a heavy seasonal demand for labor and, frequently, large scale operations. It also may mean an occupational class structure in which the immediate interests of laborers and employers are opposed and the social distance between them is great. The resulting plight of the migrant farm laborers has often been shown to the American public in prose and picture. Goldschmidt does not stop there. He shows withered rural communities,

intense and unregulated class conflict, an urbanization process that has insidiously destroyed rural values, and a national agricultural program that not only fails to correct these evils but may actually perpetuate them.

The complexity of the problem in no way detracts from its importance. California's farm population is highly heterogeneous. Farm operators have been drawn from all sections of the United States. Industrialized agriculture has successively attracted labor pools of Chinese, Japanese Filipinos, Hindus, Mexicans and migrants from the Dust Bowl. An abundant supply of farm laborers has made possible the production of specialty crops and has been written into land values. Large holdings have been split up into small units and small farms have been combined into large operations. Rural slums and disorganized communities have bred individuals who lack the opportunity and preparation for escape or improvement. Acceptance of traditional values by the submerged class has insured its bondage. Goldschmidt guides us through this labyrinth with dexterity and no little insistence. His first hand knowledge of three California communities has given him a body of facts to buttress the logic of his analysis.

In the final two chapters he defines the nature of the illness and prescribes the remedies. It is his contention that California agriculture and, for that matter, a large part of American agriculture has become industrialized. Urbanization has consequently engulfed rural communities. Policy makers have refused to accept this reality and have treated farmers as a special class, a homogeneous group who are the sole survivors and guardians of traditional rural values. This stereotyped thinking has given the American farmer, particularly the commercial farmer, special privileges and at the same time has left unprotected the mass of workers engaged in agriculture. Goldschmidt urges recognition of the actual structure of the agricultural economy and legislation that will correct inequalities now existing. Specifically he proposes a minimum wage for farm laborers, extension of the Social Security Act to the farm labor force, establishment of collective bargaining machinery for farm laborers, an education system (patterned after the Agricultural Extension Service) for farm laborers and their families, a shift in emphasis in the farm placement service and a housing program that will meet the workers' needs.

The urbanization of rural life has undoubtedly gained much headway and there has been a lag in the acceptance of these changes. But the process of urbanization is not uniform, nor is it inevitable. National agricultural policy should not necessarily be based on the type of agricultural structure that is in the vanguard of the current trend. Goldschmidt's plea for realism appears to be

more "realistic" than the specific program

he advocates. This is not to say his recom-

mendations do not merit serious consideration.

WALTER C. McKAIN, JR.

University of Connecticut.

Freedom of the Movies. By Ruth A. Inglis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. x + 240. \$3.00.

This is one of a series of reports by the Commission on Freedom of the Press. The report might be summarized as a description of how the movie industry has attempted, through self-regulation, to keep down public criticism and avoid Federal censorship. However, in the struggle between pressure groups wanting pictures which do not violate their interpretations of the sex moral code, and the need to produce movies which have a mass box office appeal, the net result has been an array of unimaginative productions which do little credit to the industry or the artistic level or development of the Nation. Of particular interest is the fact that neither public criticism nor the threat of censorship were as influential in bringing about self-regulation as was the Legion of Decency which struck at the box office in 1934.

The author has an excellent description of the "don'ts" and "be careful" attitudes which make up the Motion Picture Production Code, and the thinking of the industry. The critics of movies have assumed, for instance, that all pictures must be fit for a child to see. In applying such standards to pictures, even historical fact must conform to a rather limited interpretation of decency.

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In order to encourage the production of pictures which are more adult and realistic, the author suggests the making of movies for specialized audiences. These would be shown in theatres which would concentrate

on the unusual productions.

Why do films usually stress the advantages of the existing social and economic status quo? Is it because the industry is "big business"? Has the Production Code Administration exerted influence in this direction? Of particular interest is the letter to Samuel Goldwyn from Joseph Breen, head of the Production Code Administration, regarding the filming of the picture "Dead End." Again social and economic facts, as well as historical, mut be altered so as not to upset the complacency of the American movie audiences, and possibly the societal status quo.

In discussing the pros and cons of censorship, the author makes some significant comments. She thinks that the lack of objectives, except sheer entertainment, going as far as possible in violating the sex moral code, is largely responsible for the intellectual and artistic plight of our movies.

If the screen has something to say, the movies will win many new influential friends who will rise to protect its right to speak. Many liberals now might well ask why they should fight to lift censorship from a medium which sedulously says nothing.

The book also describes the monopolistic practices of the big producers in the industry, the dual ownership of production and distribution, block booking, the struggles of small independent producers, and the efforts of the Department of Justice in anti-trust suits.

On the whole, a good job has been done in analyzing the movie industry. The facts have been stated, but one wonders if the real inside profit-making controls within the industry have been sufficiently emphasized. The recommendations are good, but how can a voluntary revolution be expected from the monopolistic controllers who are more interested in profits than in developing artistic abilities and products, and who have been so expert in circumventing controls? Even the most optimistic Commissions can hardly expect the industry to shift from profits to art. Hollywood's interpretation of sex still brings higher box office receipts than artistic productions.

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The world wide use of American motion pictures has shown that many incorrect opinions have been formed about Americans through our films. Presenting us as only spendthrift, fun loving, sexy, gun toting, unartistic Americans has serious implications for our dealings with the rest of the world. There is an urgency about the present state of our movies, and an obligation which the industry has to the Nation, which has vastly increased with the changing role of America in world affairs. Our movies can no longer be considered as mere profit-making entertainment. The Commission could have used many of these pages more effectively had it faced more squarely these issues rather than using so much space in describing the antics of the motion picture industry in evading controls.

CHRISTOPHER SOWER.

Michigan State College.

Jesse Buel (Agricultural Reformer). By Harry J. Carman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xxxvi + 609. \$6.75.

This large book, one in the Columbia University series on the History of Agriculture under the editorship of Carman and Tugwell, is introduced by twenty pages of appraisal by Professor Carman and then devoted to nearly six hundred pages of Buel's writings and addresses. Carman explains that the book is in reality a self-portrait. In the absence of critical annotations or topical organization, the volume becomes almost more a source-file than a book.

The organization of the reprinted material, as the editor says, "falls logically into

three parts:" materials from *The Cultivator* of which he was long editor, addresses to agricultural societies, and, finally, over 300 pages in the reprint of his *The Farmer's Companion*, first published in 1839 in Boston.

The logic of this organization may derive from a premise of assembled source material, but it does not serve the purposes of either (1) rural sociology students who want to appraise the ideologies of this rural leader, one step further back in agrarianist history than Butterfield and Bailey; or (2) students of agricultural sciences who may want to delve into both the curious and the modern, comparing Buel's advice with knowledge available today. For these two, or for any other topical interest (as the index attests), the student will have to sample sparsely over the range of the several hundred pages.

Historian Carman's appraisal is that "Certainly no man of his day (b. 1778, d. 1839) contributed more, as writer and practical farmer, to enhancing the status of American agriculture and American rural life than he." p. xxxvi.

His writings and activities make abundantly clear his unusual vigor and versatility, and his prophetic objectivity, for those times, on matters of technical agriculture. Although he had had no more than six months of formal schooling, his adult outlook was thoroughly scientific, and his missionary zeal was devoted to both discovery and dissemination of the scientific in agriculture. His financial success and political-social leadership are indications of his empirical "knowledge of human nature," but his faculty psychology and agrarian sociology are now out-dated.

Buel's efforts in life, and this collection of his writings, may be classified as having two directions: (1) preaching the importance of agriculture to a national economy, to political freedom, and to moral fiber; and (2) preaching the importance of technical improvements in agriculture. The verdict of the present is likely to be that he was unsuccessful on item one (and probably invalid), but that he was successful on the

second item, although his technical knowledge is now rather fully out-dated.

Rural sociologists may be interested in a few quotations of his social lore: "God made the country-man the city." p. 4. "... ignorance begets indolence, and indolence begets vice." 6. "The good of the whole community is the good of every individual." 21. Lawyers "must live by their profession, honestly if they can, but they must live." 36. "The predominant passion of youth is curiosity." 57. "And finally, fellow-citizens, may you all be wise, all be useful, that you may all be happy, here and hereafter." 187. "... a highly cultivated garden . . . has been considered a strong indication . . . of high intellectual and moral worth in the possessor." 231. "Agriculturists are the guardians of our freedom." 267. "Agriculture is the parent of physical and moral health in the state . . ." 268. "Political ambition . . . like a cancer, is apt to prey upon and corrupt the mortal upon whom it fixes its fangs . . . (and it) abides not upon the farm . . ." 287.

F. HOWARD FORSYTH.

Trinity University.

Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat. By Josephus Daniels. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 547. \$5.00.

This is an interesting book. It is not a treatise in sociology nor does it expound any new theories of government. It is merely a record of the experiences of a United States ambassador who served in Mexico from 1933 to 1942 with an assignment from Franklin D. Roosevelt to "show by acts that the Good Neighbor Policy would work."

By all the rules of the game, Daniels should have been one of the most unpopular ambassadors ever sent to Mexico. As the Secretary of the Navy in 1914 he sent an expedition of United States marines to Veracruz which resulted in the death of 126 Mexicans and the wounding of 195. Demonstrations were held in protest to his appointment and he crossed the border under armed guard. In addition to these disqualifications, Daniels proved to be a teetotaler and refused to serve liquor in the Embassy, not only to

Mexicans, but even visiting American diplomats and Army officers!

In spite of his having two strikes against him at the outset, Daniels captured the hearts of the Mexican people and became one of the most popular ambassadors ever sent there. He travelled throughout the country; took a personal interest in Mexico's problems as well as in the Mexicans themselves. When disputes arose between the two governments, such as happened when Mexico expropriated the oil industries, he insisted that the State Department consider the problems thoroughly from Mexico's point of view before taking action.

The book is written in journalistic style, Many quotations are used from his diary which he sent weekly to his sons. A wide range of subjects is touched upon as indicated by the following:

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... I tell of the things I saw and of the people with whom I was in contact in both countries, with chief emphasis upon what was happening around me in Mexico in relation to officials, fellow diplomats, the Mexican people, and the American colony. It is a newspaperman's story, interlarded with incidents of an official mission to Europe, yearly visits to the United States, and trips into nearly every State in the Mexican Republic. Inevitably it also includes something of the workings of the New Deal in the United States.

Interesting first hand impressions are given concerning many of Mexico's national and international personalities; side-lights are given on the agrarian program, the rural school program, the conflicts between church and state, and many other subjects. Daniels speaks frankly and critically concerning some of the procedures used by the Department of State in dealing with foreign governments. He thinks that protocol often gets in the way of efficiency and reason. His reaction to some of the official diplomatic note-writing is as follows:

... If an Ambassador is fit to be appointed as the President's spokesman in a foreign country, he ought to be entrusted with the negotiations face to face, after being made acquainted with the policy of his government. Instead, the legalistic bureaucratic officials in

the Foreign Office at home often regard the Ambassador or Minister as a wellpaid messenger boy and at times wish to instruct him, without consultation, to deliver a peremptory note to the Foreign Minister . . . . In nine times out of ten, diplomatic notes should be relegated to a garret for outgrown garments.

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It always irritated me to get a note saying: 'You are hereby instructed to deliver the enclosed note to the Mexican government.' I felt like replying: 'A ten-cent messenger boy could do this job as well and the Government could save \$17,500 a year by engaging his services instead of having an Ambassador on duty here.' . . . Pp. 286-287.

This book will be useful for the information it gives on the inner workings of an American Embassy as well as for the many interesting side-lights it gives on Mexican problems and personalities. The nature of the work is enhanced by numerous excellent photographs.

N. L. WHETTEN.

University of Connecticut.

Down To Earth. By Eugene S. Hahnel. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1947. Pp. 106. \$1.75.

This is another of the growing number of practical guides, "primers" on farm living, addressed to non-farm people with country life aspirations. The author foresees that during the peaceless aftermath of World War II with its widespread ideological disillusionment, a tide of new farm aspirants will plunge into our rural districts to try out their private versions of peaceful and humanly meaningful living. He asks himself what this tide will do to America's farm structure "with one pillar in quicksand and the other on the government's shoulders." Since it cannot be stemmed, it must be directed into channels useful to the body agricultural and the nation as a whole. The author feels that the newcomers may become evangelists of a quiet revolution which the "American farm will stage during the next twenty to thirty years and which will offer to its adherents a way of life hitherto unheard of in terms of stability and serenity" (p. 86). The revolution will consist essentially in a change of the economic and cultural function of the self-reliant, self-subsisting "family-sized" farm.

Mr. Hahnel addresses himself, therefore, only to aspirants for this type of farming, which excludes would-be "farm capitalists" as well as all those without a minimum investment potential of about \$10,000. Those who remain are, in the first part of the book, submitted to a "down to earth" shock treatment to disperse their illusions about present-day farming conditions. The author discusses here general principles of financing and of selecting a farm, and, the economic structure of a diversified "family-sized" farm. He acquaints the prospective farmer with the peculiar hardships which he will encounter on his impoverished, half-eroded soil in its cultivation and in his battle with insect pests. He points out the lack of adequate care and education in the country, the absence of a coherent program of farm welfare and the organizational weakness of the middle-class farmer on the political scene.

For the farm aspirant who has faced squarely these serious handicaps of his new life, the author outlines in the second half of the book what he feels to be the desirable potentialities of modern farm development. His recommendations may be summarized as follows:

Agriculturally:

- Borsodi's principle of manufacturing on the farm all basic essentials of life—including, e.g., housing and clothing.
- Vertical farm diversification—i.e., processing of farm grown raw materials on the farm.
- Exploitation of odd corners of consumer demand—producing of specialties in plants, livestock, etc.

Socio-culturally:

- Participation in cooperatives and expansion of their functions.
- Active participation in reorganization of the rural school situation.

The book is not meant to present new material. It is a condensation of facts widely discussed in the agricultural and sociological literature. The author does a good job in fitting the detail into a consistent frame of reference derived from his evaluation of the present farming trend. It might be a profitable research task for the rural sociologist to size up the actual socio-cultural composition and economic potentialities of the new migration to the farm and to diagnose whether a new level of "rurban" living related to a new system of farming is here in the making or whether the "back to the farm" movement is only another form of wasting the wealth and sterilizing the life style of a city-weary middle class.

FREDERICK W. HENSSLER.

Ringoes, N. J.

USSR A Concise Handbook. Edited by Ernest J. Simmons. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1947. Pp viii + 494. \$4.50.

This book consists of a series of articles on Russia and the USSR written by an exceptionally well-qualified group of specialists for Volume 27 of the current edition of the Encyclopedia Americana. The idea of incorporating this material into a ready reference handbook was well-conceived for within the compass of less than 500 pages one has an authoritative treatment of a variety of themes. Part One on Geography includes National and Racial Minorities, and Pasical Features. Part Two on Political Science has chapters dealing with the History of Russia and the USSR together with a Foreign Affairs Chronology; Government and Politics; Jurisprudence; Diplomatic Relations with the United States; Russia in the First World War; and The USSR in the Second World War. Part Three on the Social Sciences discusses the Economic System; Banking, Money and Finance; Agricultural Development; Industry Under the Soviet Government; Communications; Social Institutions; Medicine and Health; Educational System; Religion; and the Armed Forces, Part Four on The Humanities and Science deals with Soviet Philosophical Thought; the Russian Language; Literature; Music; Art; Architecture and Drama; Science.

A social scientist finds the groupings of

chapters a trifle bizarre and regrets that the social science division is made the catch-all for chapters which more properly belong elsewhere. Nor is Political Science considered a Social Science. But such organizations of the essays detracts little from their chief usefulness. Encyclopedic in lang. uage and content, they give a factual coverage of a given topic in contrast to the im. pressionistic, anecdotal accounts from which most of us gain a passing acquaintance with the USSR. Of particular interest to the reviewer was the discussion of ethnic democracy as preached and practiced by the Communists and the use of this approach in combatting illiteracy, Anti-Semitism and kindred ills. Corliss Lamont, perhaps with. out intending to in this chapter on Minorities, shows that the preservation of ethnic traits is selective since on the one hand some native mores are favored while others (subjection of women) are frowned upon. The 76-page historical sketch by Kazakevich is brilliantly done and enables one to trace in clear outline the rise of the Muscovite, the fortunes of the Empire, and the troubled days during and since the 1917 Revolution. These pages are filled with social insight, and keep before the reader both social structure and process. Lazar Volin's chapter on Agricultural Development not only traces the fortunes of the peasant but distinguishes between the present Soviet farm units: (1) the collective farm or kolkhoz, (2) state farm or sovkhoz, and (3) machine-tractor stations or MTS. Rose Maurer's chapter on The Development of Social Institutions briefly touches on the family, standard of living items (housing, food, clothing), labor legislation, and public organizations. Little attempt at sociological analysis is made in this chapter. On the other hand. John Somerville's discussion of Soviet philosophical thought states the ideological basis of Marxism within a sociological context.

Any reader, depending on his tastes, will find some chapters more helpful than others but will find stimulation wherever he reads. Even the paper cover of the book is useful to to the vo

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for it opens up into a map of the USSR. In view of the purpose for which the chapters were originally written it would be unfair to criticize the book as an organic whole or to lament the fact that Sir Bernard Pares, the eminent historian of Russia, should devote but seven and one-half pages to Religion Under Czars and Soviets when in a different type of book he might well have written much more than that. Nor is it in order to compare this book with other books on Russia which are specialized in content. This work, in brief, is unique in that it is a compendium and has the advantages and disadvantages of such an undertaking.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

University of Kentucky.

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Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles. By John F. Cuber. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiv + 590. \$4.00.

When a modern textbook writer produces an introductory sociology in less than 600 pages, the event is newsworthy. In his reaction against the now accepted trend toward verbosity and encyclopedic coverage, Professor Cuber is to be congratulated.

This text, designed for college freshmen or sophomores, is conventional in its structure. Part I is an orientation, largely devoted to the nature of sociology's realm and problems of objectivity in social studies. Part presents the "anthropological" background to sociology, centering on the concept and structure of culture, its variability, change, etc. This is followed by the social psychological backgrounds, such as personality development and the self. Part IV is concerned with social structure, groups, population, race, urbanization, and ecology. Part V presents the conventional major social institutions, and the final part is largely devoted to social processes in a broad sense; i.e., interaction, change, disorganization.

There is little that is fundamentally new in the organization or pattern of this book. Its contribution lies mainly in its attributes of brevity and clarity. It is, as the author says, a synopsis. Essentials in practically every aspect of sociology usually included in an introductory course are presented. It elaborates few of them; it does not bind the concepts together in an original fashion. One may say that the book is superficial; it is, but how can one cover the essential "truths" on the development of culture, for example, in fifteen pages, and at the same time go very thoroughly into the implications of the observations made? Whether or not, in an introductory text, this is an asset or a liability depends on the instructor's purpose, the nature of a student body, and the time available for the course.

Student attitude toward this text should be very favorable. (The reviewer has used it in the recent summer session and had an overwhelmingly favorable response by the students.) Cuber writes clearly and simply. without pretension; he explains carefully and on points that students ordinarily find confusing. There is some basis for thinking that superior students will find the book lacking in stimulation. But the average student may well learn more from this text than from more refined and comprehensive works. Its optimum utility should lie in situations in which sociology is a brief course primarily for service to other major fields or where the students are not highly selected intellectually. Where the text is used for semester-long courses and/or where scholarship is high, extensive supplementation will be in order. In such situations, this book could provide an adequate, minimum nucleus for a course.

In some ways Cuber has labored perhaps too hard in making this text pedagogically sound. A considerable part of his space might better have been given over to elaboration and further analysis, rather than to repetition. While the student will approve, the profession may find his avoidance of footnotes slightly irritating. There may also be some basis for quibbles in his orientation chapters. A professional reader may also disagree with the author's judgment concerning the order of presentation of some chapters. The fact remains, however, that Cuber gets across the important concepts and many important facts to even a dull

student, and considering his brevity and simplicity of statement, accomplishes it with a high degree of accuracy.

BRYCE RYAN.

Rutgers University.

The Making of a Southerner. By Katharine
Du Pre Lumpkin. New York: Alfred
A. Knopf, 1947. Pp. 248. \$3.00.

Seldom is high scholarship and critical analysis combined so admirably with brilliant description into a soul-searching autobiography.

The appealing title describes this volume adequately. It is the life story of the author who is versed in the cultural heritage of the South—a revealing account of those social, economic, political, and religious influences that shaped her being, mentally and spiritually. But it is more than that. It is a searching analysis of forces that made the South what it is. The personal story is used as a vehicle to carry lightly the heavy load of involved facts and scientific interpretations. Thus, concreteness and authenticity are added to the analysis.

The book reads like a novel. It is personal, intimate, and charming. It covers the last hundred years but it is lively and fast moving. Interest never lags, for in its seven chapters the making of the mind of the South is revealed, particularly as viewed in retrospect. In doing this the author pulls back the curtain that often veils the future.

A rich family background rooted in the antebellum Southern aristocracy, the loss of financial security in the aftermath of the Civil War, the consequent decline in social prestige and acceptability, the struggle to keep body and soul together under seemingly insurmountable economic handicaps, and the excellent moral discipline at home and intellectual stimuli at a northern institution of higher learning—all of these things fully qualify the author to write with authority on the Southland.

Traced to their roots are the perplexing problems growing out of white supremacy and racial superiority which still feed on slavery and poverty. Light is shed on the eternal conflict between the admitted wrongness of slavery (in spite of the free use of the Bible in its justification) and belief in the rightness of the Southern cause. The forces that gave birth to and have for so long sustained lynching and the poll tax are analyzed with astuteness. The sharecropper system, which still casts a feudal shadow over the old South, and the clannishness of Southern society in spite of its renowned hospitality, are discussed with frankness and finesse.

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Landed aristocracy, poor whites, Southern womanhood, soil depletion, regional exploitation, "nigger lovers", easy living, widespread laziness, poor health, inadequate education, mass poverty, and others—all of these things are given new meanings. The numerous myths manufactured to support Southern predilections and prepossessions are not exploded; they are presented as given facts and are interpreted as to their profound impact upon Southern culture.

By far too many of us Southerners do not know the South, even though we have been under the spell of its influence since birth. To us this volume reveals much. On the other hand, far too much of the Northerners' so-called "understanding" of the South is based upon an imaginative glance at a few superficial institutional maladjustments. To them this study could be exceedingly helpful. Any person with a deep concern for human welfare and any who want to understand "the Southern problem" can ill afford to ignore this stimulating analysis by a capable and sincere Southerner.

MARSHALL HARRIS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Children of the People. By Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. xi + 277. \$4.50.

Nearly a decade ago the reviewer attended a government sponsored Navaho fair and rodeo in the northern part of the Navaho country. Approximately five thousand men, women and children had gathered to watch exhibitions of horsemanship at an afternoon event. Among the throng were perhaps a couple of hundred whites with their fami-

lies. During the several hours of the show the two score or more white children were like bundles of perpetual energy. The Navaho children, by and large, sat quietly with their parents or occasionally engaged in quiet play.

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No one who has observed differences of behavior at mass gatherings where both white and Navaho children are present can doubt that individuals are brought to adult-hood differently. It is important for us to learn the processes of socialization of other cultures since we then begin to understand ourselves as well as the meaning of culture and society. It is this problem, in the Navaho setting, that the authors of this book have set for themselves.

The techniques used in field research have been drawn from several disciplines and deserve mention. The first half of the book is based on data gathered by observation and interview. The remainder of the report is drawn from the results of tests on 211 children. These included two intelligence tests, a battery of psychological tests which probed for attitudes and three projective tests including Free Drawings, the Thematic Apperception Test and the Rorschach. The use of such well established devices permitted comparative analysis with white children.

The synthesis of these varied approaches to the central problem revealed that there are not only differences between Navaho and white children but also that there are significant personality differences among the Navahos themselves. For example, we learn that the kind of behavior which is explained in the white world as due to the guilt feeling does not fit the Navaho. It is not conscience which inhibits the Navaho but a fear of being shamed if caught in an unsocial act. Social and symbolic pressures are seen to have greater weight in socialization than those coming from egoistic sources.

This book is a careful and scholarly approach to a fundamental problem. It represents a contribution not only in the specific field of adding to our knowledge of the Navaho but also in the larger context of providing comparative data on the processes

of socialization. This excellence does not mean, however, that both method and conclusions should be accepted uncritically. There are a number of instances where interpretations offered are either subjective estimates or projected inferences of behavior and are not substantiated by the evidence.

Exception must also be taken to the conclusion that the diffuseness of social organization and emotional structure "is perhaps the keynote of the whole system." The same statement could also be made of Western European culture if one depended upon the evidence of particularism as have Leighton and Kluckhohn. It is true that Navaho social organization does not reveal a complexity of institutional structures, but in particular in the system of relations based upon blood and marriage there is a well developed pattern of mutual obligations and reciprocities along with a repository of authority which if not easily seen in operation is in nowise absent.

SOLON T. KIMBALL.

Michigan State College.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Selected Papers, Seventy-Third Annual Meeting, Buffalo, New York, May 19-23, 1946. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp xi + 608. \$5.00.

"America has a most splendid system of social work agencies; it has also some of the most vicious and persistent social ills. I wonder why?" This question was asked by a recent arrival to this country. If he meant to imply that it was the cure which caused the ill, the query was merely supercilious. But it was not altogether amiss apropos the volume under review. Is it sound that all this skill, energy, and thought are available for the treatment of the evils, and virtually none for their prevention?

Curiously enough, it is the very standard of the offerings which stimulates such questions. Practically all the papers selected have something useful to say. They present the clearly focused experience of men and women used to handling concrete problems, be it public welfare, methods of procedure, group work, principles of administration, casework, the needs of the veteran, protection of children and adolescents, delinquency, the aged. or the physically and mentally ill.

Some of the papers, like that by Susanne Schulze ("Group Living and the Dependent Child"), or that by Charles E. Hendry ("The Dynamics of Leadership") seem, at least to this reviewer, notable for their concern with more exact, experimentally tester techniques. like those by Ewan Clague Some, ("Social Work in the New Economic Scene"), by W. S. Woytinsky ("Postwar Perspectives"), and by Hugh R. Poneroy ("The Housing Problem") are broad in scope and contain revealing data. And the whole first section, "Social Work Widens Its Horizons," deserves acclaim for puting American social work into its right perspective: the international scene. The surveys of Great Britain's and China's problems-the first by B. E. Astbury and the second by Donald S. Howard—as well as the discussions by G. Brock Chisholm, Max Lerner, and Kenneth L. M. Pray, the president of the conference, are all of genuine interest to social scientists, though some might find Mr. Pray's argument somewhat marred by an excess of ex officio optimism.

But inspite, or possibly because, of all their excellence, the proceedings are apt to arose rather than dispel that "cloud of justifiable suspicion" of which Mr. Pray warns in his opening address. It is the suspicion that social work seems to ascribe to itself "as a matter of its own self-preservation, if you please, a kind of vested interest in the continuance of social disorders, defects, and inequalities". (Page 9). As it presents itself in this volume, social work seems to be almost exclusively concerned with the "dependent, defective, delinquent", or with ills after they have become acute. There is not a single paper that takes up the problem of prevention.

Still, indications can be found that some of the exponents of social work begin to give thought to this problem (see f.i. pp. 9, 64, and 92). Like some of their colleagues in the medical profession, they begin to be aware of the fact that the best part of care

is prevention. Would it be out of order to suggest that the next National Conference set aside a section for the discussion of preventive social work?

HENRIK F. INFIELD.

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Rural Settlement Institute Poughkeepsie, New York.

German Youth: Bond or Free. By Howard Becker. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xiii + 286. \$4.00.

German Youth: Bond or Free is a very timely and instructive book. The author does a number of things to help his reader develop an intelligent attitude toward the problem of what to do with Germany. First of all, he presents the subdued conflicts in the souls of German youth due to the disintegration of the value system as it existed during the Biedermeier time. Disintegration was caused by the Industrial Revolution, and he calls attention to the resultant gap that existed between the younger and older generations.

Careful analysis of the history of youth movements and the efforts of new leaders in Germany to establish a new value system are presented. He shows how the Nazi with all cunningness and devilish intelligence capitalized on the situation and how a disappointed German youth was exploited and used by the Nazi to attain his own selfish ends.

When the author shows it to be a religion, the real nature of Nazism is unmasked. Attention is called to the fact that the various social institutions, the Church included, failed to help German youth establish a new value system that would give him direction and security comparable to what the German youth enjoyed during the Biedermeier time.

The author makes it very clear that the complex social processes he describes has a very definite influence upon the personalities of German youth. This influence must be understood by the planners of a new Germany if the result is to be desirable. While the reader becomes a little impatient with the author due to his delay in coming to the real issue of the book, the history of social processes that have molded past and present

Germany is a very valuable contribution to an intelligent understanding of the unfortunate people living along the Rhine. It gives the reader necessary background for the understanding of the problems that confront the planners of future Germany. It is a scientific and an objective analysis of the social issues that the German youth of today face. With modesty and reluctance the author presents his solution to the problem of developing a generation of German youth free from the cunning of selfish leaders and youth's own bewilderment-a generation that can develop a Germany capable of making a positive contribution to the family of nations.

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The author admits he is a little pessimistic and to our mind errs on the side of not expecting such social institutions as the Church to make a contribution in the establishment of a new system. We admit he is justified in such an attitude in view of the standoffish" attitude of the Church in the past. However, it must be remembered that trying times have always brought out the best in the Church and it is hoped that this will be no exception. His warning that Nazism is not dead must not be ignored for the entire book is too well documented for that.

This book of 268 pages is a very readable volume representing a great deal of work that does the author credit. It should be carefully read by anyone who has a part in shaping the future of Germany. He who desires to be able to discuss the German problem intelligently will find the time well spent in reading German Youth: Bond or Free. Incidentally, it is moderately priced.

National Lutheran Council

E. W. MUELLER.

Chicago 4, Illinois.

How to Conduct Consumer and Opinion Research. Edited by Albert B. Blankenship. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946. Pp. xi + 314. \$4.00.

This book is a symposium on market and public opinion research published under the spensorship of the American Council on Public Relations, with contributions from twenty-six leading research authorities in the fields. The avowed purpose of the book is fourfold: (1) to enable "... the business man who needs research... to select the right man or organization"; (2) to show "... what organizations offer continuing (and fairly standardized) measurement services, so that the business man will be able to get, from one source, the answer to his question on the various services available"; (3) to serve as a "useful text" in courses for the "questionnaire surveyor"; and (4) to help the "part-time" research man (Pp. 1-2).

In the opinion of the reviewer, the book is reasonably adequate in its fulfillment of the first two of the avowed purposes but falls somewhat short of its last two objectives, partly because these two groups of purposes are basically incompatible. The market research authors find it difficult trying both to "sell" a survey service and provide instruction at the same time on "how to conduct" surveys.

Sociologists are hereby warned that, despite the implication in the title that public opinion research is a major topic of the book, the actual space devoted to it is comparatively slight. Over three-fourths of the book consists of "Surveys Reported to Business and Industry" (largely consumer research), although there is a good chapter by Majorie Fiske and Paul F. Lazarsfeld on the work of the Office of Radio Research which will interest persons doing public opinion research.

About 50 pages are devoted to "Surveys Reported to Government," an interesting summary of some of the research done by OWI, WPB, the Bureau of the Census, and the Division of Program Surveys of the USDA.

In a single-chapter section called "Surveys Reported to the Public," the entire school of public opinion analysts, including the late Harry Field, Hadley Cantril, George Gallup, Archibald Crossley and Elmo Roper, is treated in a highly condensed, but to this reviewer, excessively brief 20 pages written by industrial researcher Wroe Alderson.

In the Introduction the point is made that: "Unfortunately, because of government restrictions, some of the most interesting survey work done for the government cannot be revealed." (P. 4). Specifically mentioned in this category are the studies of military morale. It should be pointed out that, while publications of much of the content of these studies was restricted, reports on methodology were being made continuously by those conducting studies of military morale and would be significant contributions to a book on "how to conduct" opinion research. As a case in point, the challenging work of Louis Guttman on the development of scales is not mentioned nor, for that matter, does any discussion of the crucial problem of scaling appear.

If justice were to be done to the title of the book it would seem as if the balance of "consumer" and "opinion" research could have been improved.

DUANE L. GIBSON.

Michigan State College.

The Community in American Society. By John A. Kinneman. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiii + 450. \$3.75.

The author's purpose is to present a textbook on the American community centering around cities from 25,000 to 100,000, thus combining elements of both rural and urban sociology. The book is useful not only in building insight into the community but in presenting the working tools for intelligent activity in community affairs. It warrants careful reading and digestive thinking because much of its value lies in the understructure of the thought and in the materials with which it is amplified. The cursory reader will lose much of this value.

The first two of the six parts of the book develop methods of determining the extent of the community and techniques for analyzing its structural relationships. Measurements of structure are given, such as newspaper circulation, hospitalization, the milk shed, the zone of retailing, wholesaling and department store deliveries, the area of

commutation and the area from which people respond to the stimulation of the arts.

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Part III discloses how such characteristics of the population as size, density, nationality, mobility, stratification, age and sex distribution, and the presence of minority groups determine the individuality of the community. Part IV presents a discussion of community folkways necessary to understand in order to deal successfully with a community.

Parts V and VI make up the last half of the book and include the most dynamic materials for the citizen and community worker. They take up community organization, how community solidarity is achieved, the adequate functioning of community institutions and agencies, such as welfare, education, recreation, religion, health, and the vocational organizations. Leadership problems and community progress are discussed. Final considerations are processes of change, conflict, community crises, problems of public administration, and community planning. Many references are made to specific American communities and statistical data are brought up-to-date.

All in all this is a well-put-together book, one that will go a long way toward establishing a comprehensive outlook on the structure of communities of middle size. If graduates of our colleges and universities are to become equipped for an active place in community life, students must be brought into contact with books like this, that develop working points of view for community participation. The style of writing is heavy in places and sometimes key ideas seem unnecessarily buried in the context, but if the reader will pace himself to the material his reward will be gratifying.

JAMES W. ARMSTRONG.

Committee for Kentucky Louisville, Kentucky

Contemporary Social Problems (Third Edition). By Harold A. Phelps. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiv + 845. Trade Edition, \$5.35; Text Edition, \$4.00.

Based upon the 1938 volume of the same

title, this third edition of Phelps' Contemporary Social Problems incorporates the findings of recent research and brings statistical materials up-to-date. The volume remains true to the stated purpose of the first edition, "to show that social problems must be redefined before they can be stated as problems to be solved." Phelps believes that "analysis and redefinition" are essential to an understanding of a social problem, and is concerned only incidentally with causes and solutions. He recognized repeatedly the fact of multiple causation.

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The purpose is adhered to throughout the twenty-three chapters and the introductory remarks prefacing each of the four parts of the volume. The pages are filled with definitions of the problem under consideration and schemes of classification. In this respect the volume is less journalistic and more analytical than most social problems texts. To this reviewer, however, an unduly large amount of space is devoted to an attempt to define and classify problems in a theoretical way. After an introductory chapter woven around the theme that social problems "are obstacles to the realization of human interests and values," the authordevotes chapters in Part IV to these topics, respectively: "Types of Social Problems," "The Nature of Social Problems," "How Social Problems Develop," and "The Scientific Study of Social Problems."

For those unacquainted with Contemporary Social Problems, topics are developed under three major categories of disorganization: "Economic Sources," "Physical and Mental Sources," and "Specific Cultural Sources." The fourth part of the volume is devoted to "An Approach to Social Planning."

Materials are ably and clearly presented in light of generally accepted interpretations of the data. A statistical foundation for the findings and conclusions is unobtrusively evident. Personal biases naturally affect the selection of topics for inclusion in a social problems text, as Phelps admits. Many a teacher, however, would wish chapters on such topics as race relations, con-

servation of natural resources, and ruralurban relations. There is little material of peculiar interest to the rural sociologist.

Each chapter is complete with a bibliography, a set of questions for review and discussion, and a summary, which not only summarizes but often introduces a statement of treatment objectives or measures,

While Contemporary Social Problems is a competently prepared and useful volume, sociologists are still waiting for the social problems text.

CARL F. REUSS.

Capital University.

The Psychology of Ego-Involvements. By Mazafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 525. \$6.00.

This volume carries forward Cantril's earlier analyses of attitudes, mental context, and ego-development.

In the genetic growth of ego the person interprets external stimuli (culture) within his frame of reference. One aspect of the person's growing mental context is the establishment of fairly stable attitudes around which ego is structured. Personal goals and values are possible "only after a certain development of the ego."

From analyses of the individual's relations to his "reference and membership groups" (these relations involving "affectively toned attitudes"), the study proceeds to details such as motivations, variability of behavior, and ego-disorganizations. Organization of ego around cooperation or competition, for example, indicates "nothing other than the inculcation of appropriate ego attitudes."

Important in ego-development are experiences from which the person interprets his position or orientation with respect to his external gestalts: groups, rules, roles, and positional systems. Changes in orientation to these gestalts, especially pronounced at adolescence, reform the ego as individuals "strive to establish themselves in their groups." Ego-reorganization accompanies new identifications, new ego "anchorages," new acceptances and rejections. These to-

gether with new experience of inconsistencies or conflicts in the situations and values which form any particular "ego constellation" produce differentiated ego content and behavior.

Ordinarily ego-striving so relates new stimuli or elements to existing ego-involved attitudes as to produce a "glow of individuality—the sense of me-ness" so that "we feel good about ourselves." However, breakdown of the ego under stress, deprivation, organic disturbance, may occur after ego attitudes have become dissociated from judgment and behavior. Data from some 500 writers are presented in relation to these processes.

The authors conclude that "ego-striving is rooted in . . . (organic) functioning on a conceptual level and is therefore neither a primary instinct . . . nor the manifestation of some mystic force."

M. TAYLOR MATTHEWS.

West Virginia University.

The Challenge of Industrial Relations. By Sumner H. Slichter. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1947. Pp. vii + 196. \$2.50.

The latter-day conduct of labor relations provides a challenge not only to public policy but also, if somewhat less importantly, to scientific analysis. In this small book an outstanding labor economist sets forth his views on both problems. The results are spotty, but on the whole good.

The book's six chapters represent the published version of as many lectures delivered at Cornell University in November, 1946. Their origin no doubt accounts in part for the general lucidity of the argument. One of the lectures, however, must have had Professor Slichter's listeners gasping or asleep. Appearing in the book as Chapter III, "The Economic Consequences of the Wage Policies of Unions," it is abstract theorizing at its worst, because it is inherently incomprehensible. It represents neither an empirical investigation nor a logical analysis of the consequences of certain assumptions. The author's wage theory draws

upon the archaic "wages fund" doctrine, marginal utility analysis, and spurious inferences from impossible assumptions.

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Professor Slichter is at his best in these lectures when he traces out some of the changes wrought in the management of enterprises through the growth of collective bargaining (Chapter II and at scattered points in Chapter III). The first chapter is largely historical and introductory to the questions dealt with in later chapters. Chapter IV deals with the internal organization of labor unions, based mainly on materials gleaned from constitutions. Several studies now in progress may allow a less formal approach to this question in the future. The last two chapters take up, respectively, the preservation of industrial peace through collective bargaining and the control of unions in the public interest. In these as in the preceding chapters the author makes concrete policy proposals along with his factual summary and analysis. Except in the discussion of wages, the reader is allowed to follow the author's argument and weigh the proposals on a more or less intelligent basis. The analysis is in no case sociological, but should be of real service to sociologists in the industrial field and, less obviously, to those concerned with social organization and institutional integration.

WILBERT E. MOORE.

Princeton University.

England's Green and Pleasant Land. By J W. Robertson Scott. New York: Penguin Books, 1947. Pp. xiv + 183. One shilling.

Most of Robertson Scott's 81 years have gone into living and working in and thinking and writing about the country—particularly the English country. What he feels or has felt about British villages and villagers he sets forth with blunt honesty and a spark of humor in these essays, all but three of which were contributed anonymously to the Nation in the early 1920's.

Robertson Scott has little patience with the eulogists who write about England's cottage homes "smiling o'er the silvery brooks" (which is why they are damp, he adds). He writes about wretched housing, overchurching, low wages, out-migration of the talented and ambitious, the enervating effects of isolation, the divisive evils of caste, and the failure of the church as an institution. It is not country people who are responsible for the many shortcomings of village life, he emphasizes, but the systems of which they are products. Especially at fault is the Church, which he belabors until one critic wearily cries, "Stop. You are flogging a dying horse."

Sociologists will concur in Robertson Scott's central theme: that while at a given moment the persistence of custom seems the great reality of village life, "all is changing, and changing very quickly" (p. 90). Will these changes imply positive values for rural life? Yes, he believes, if the conditions which underlie existing problems are squarely attacked (p. 21). The limits of community "improvement" lie only in what we can get people to do for themselves (p. 156).

These are essays of a journalist-philosopher, a valuable record of one man's knowledge and attitudes at a particular time and place in history. Sociologists will recognize, however, the applicability of many generalizations to village life in our own and other countries today. They will also find the book rare literary fare.

VINCENT H. WHITNEY.

Brown University

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Our Rural Communities. By Laverne Burchfield. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1947. Pp. xiii + 201. \$2.50.

This book is a book of bibliographical materials that proposes to "provide a guide to the very considerable body of literature that has grown up around . . . problems" that "challenge rural communities today." It is directed to "furnishing rural leaders and others interested" in these problems "with a brief factual statement about the major areas of rural life."

The volume grew out of the 1944 conference of the American Country Life Association for which a digest of information about agencies concerned with rural life

and abstracts of published materials relating thereto was prepared. The task of expanding that digest was taken over by the Rural Education Project of the University of Chicago, and Research Associate Laverne Burchfield was asked to complete the revision necessary for the book.

The problems considered, each of which has a chapter devoted to it, are: education, agricultural extension, library service, the church, medical care and health services, welfare services, housing, recreation, children and youth, cooperatives and farm organizations, local government, community organization, and land use. Each chapter contains a brief statement about the relation of the problem considered to rural life in general, then a more elaborate descriptive summary of the materials included, and concludes with the bibliography itself. The summary often contains some of the more important information found in certain of the sources, and in that way the book's value for the general reader and the non-specialist teacher of Rural Sociology is enhanced.

Because of the general nature of certain of the problems discussed, e.g., recreation and children and youth, the bibliography contains a valuable source of information for non-rural materials, which should also increase its value for the general library.

HOWARD G. MCCLAIN.

Mercer University.

The War on Malnutrition and Poverty. By J. Murray Luck. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946. Pp. xi + 203. \$2.50.

In the words of the publisher on the jacket: "This book is a manifesto in behalf of the values of the consumer co-operative movement. The harmful effects of malnutrition and poverty are intensively presented in order to emphasize the beneficial results to be obtained from a wider extension of co-operative societies." Our comments need only expand slightly upon that brief but fairly adequate summary of the contents of this book.

This is not a scientific work but much

of the data used are drawn from scientific sources. The author admittedly makes no attempt to review exhaustively the causes of poverty nor to scrutinize thoroughly the numerous solutions to the problem of poverty that have been proposed. What he does is to make a case for poverty "which even more than ignorance and prejudice is a saboteur of public health," and then to focus attention on the contributions of the cooperative movement toward the alleviation of economic distress.

Though no less convinced than other advocates of co-ops, this author is not nearly as extravagant in his claims for co-operation as others have been. In the early chapters of the book are gathered together valuable reference material on diet, nutrition, and health—Luck is a biochemist—and how they are related to income. The enclosure system, the industrial revolution, and the poor laws of England are reviewed to show the situation out of which co-operatives developed. In the remainder of the book consumer cooperation in Britain and America is described with favorable bias.

LEROY J. DAY.

University of Wisconsin.

North Carolina Today. By S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 240, \$2.30.

To rural sociologists as a group this volume is more important for what it represents that what it is. Behind its preparation are at least three factors: first, the late Dr. E. C. Branson, and his colleague Dr. S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and their efforts toward encouraging and helping North Carolinians to know more of their own state; second, the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences of the University of North Carolina and its work in studying the South and trying to get people to look objectively at their social situation; and third, the rapid growth of the resource-use education "movement" in recent years. The information and perspective of all three are in this book oriented toward providing an adequate knowledge of

North Carolina for the state's young people in the public schools.

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The main parts of the book are "Discovering the Wealth of North Carolina" (ch. 3. 15), "Creating Wealth by Farming" (ch. 16. 27), "Creating Wealth by Manufacturing" (ch. 28-39), and "Increasing Our Institutional Wealth" (ch. 40-47). The fact that almost one-half of the book (ch. 3-27) is concerned with an interpretation of, and facts about, natural resources and farming is interesting and indicates the appropriateness of the arrangement of materials about a state still more than two-thirds rural in population.

More than just a valuable book for the education of the youth of North Carolina, this volume should be a challenge to the other states in the South to increase our own "institutional wealth" through more adequate accumulation and interpretation of facts about them so "that the people may know," understand and act.

HOWARD G. MCCLAIN.

Mercer University.

The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso. By William Whitman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 149. \$2.75.

This study is the latest in the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology series. It deals with an Indian group about which very little information has been published and fills a need for those who are interested in the Indians of the Southwest Unfortunately, because of the death of the author before the volume was finished, several chapters were not written.

The purpose underlying the investigation was "to study behavior in a small homogeneous Indian community." This purpose has been well achieved through personal residence in the community at various times. Background material in the first chapter includes a description of the pueblo and a discussion of factions, moiety and clan, societies, government, and leadership. Against this background, detailed attention is given in separate chapters to the individual, the

family, work, religion, and dances and games. Appendices on kinship terms and Indian proper names with the English meanings are included.

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A very brief concluding chapter discusses conformance in the pueblo and touches upon the cultural change which is taking place due to contacts with the outside world. The volume would have been even better than it now is if the author could have had an opportunity to elaborate on these last-mentioned phases of life among the Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso, New Mexico.

SIGURD JOHANSEN.

New Mexico College of A. & M. A.

Unto the Least of These (Social Services for Children). By Emma Octavia Lundberg. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xi + 424. \$3.75.

This volume is a detailed and thorough study of the social services for children in the United States.

Having once stated the need and delimited the field, the author begins with the history of social services for children and shows their development into the three-fold organization of federal, state and local public agencies, which, together with the private agencies, form the present network.

Through short biographies of individuals who have contributed greatly to the field of child-welfare, the author presents a force-ful picture of the need for protection of the suffering, neglected and handicapped child-ren and she brings out the development of modern concepts. The prevention, control and treatment of juvenile delinquency is given special attention as is social legislation pertaining to the field of child-welfare. Attention is also given to the legal basis for social actions.

The author ends the book with a chapter devoted to future trends and a definite plan of action for federal, state and local agencies. Written in a superior manner and very well documented, this book should do much to create public interest and understanding in the principles and aims of social services for children.

JULIAN SAMORA.

Adams State College.

Human Breeding and Survival. By G. I. Burch and E. Pendell. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1947. Pp. 144. \$.25.

Originally published in 1945 under the title Population Roads to Peace or War by the Population Reference Bureau, this volume, now revised and dressed in a colorful cellophane-coated jacket, vies for the mass American reading market as a popularlypriced pocket edition on sale at the neighborhood drug store. From the first to the last page Burch and Pendell, in the best Malthusian tradition, maintain a continuous and sometimes convincing assault on uncontrolled human reproduction as the source of many, if not all, of the major social ills. It, they point out, encourages the increase of the less able members of society and is the primary cause for poverty, tyranny, and war. The authors take issue with the frequently expressed view that technological advances alone will assure the production of ample goods for the world's increasing population, leaving at most only the problem of their distribution unsolved. They hold that scientific and technological progress must be accompanied and assisted by reasonable and humane population limitation. Believing that the need for immediate world action is urgent, the writers conclude by presenting four general suggestions for consideration by the United Nations as a population program.

HOMER L. HITT.

Louisiana State University.

Ozark Superstitions. By Vance Randolph. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 367. \$3.75.

Vance Randolph is an authority on the folkways of the Ozark Mountain people of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas. Drawing from a rich background of primary data, which he accumulated over a twenty-five year period of close observation and

association with the people whom he was studying, he sets forth their folkways, superstitions and beliefs in a very vivid manner. This book is a veritable treasury of backwoods customs and beliefs. Here can be found thousands of magical beliefs that relate to the weather, farming, marriage, mountain medicine, death, witchcraft and many other topics. The author is convinced that the majority of the superstitions originated in the British Isles many years ago and have persisted through the years though perhaps changing slightly in form. Instead of simplicity, the mind of the "hillman" has a tremenduously involved system of signs, omens and auguries. He follows these instead of the mental procedure which we call the scientific method. This book will be especially interesting to sociologists and social anthropologists but the general public will find it very interesting and enlightening. There is a good index and an annotated bibliography.

JOHN. R. EUBANK.

Philander Smith College.

### Erratum

In the review of Sperling's Psychology For The Millions written by Edgar A. Schuler (Vol. 12, No. 3, September 1947, Page 330) an omission changed the meaning of a sentence. The sentence at the top of page 330 should be:

For instance, 'The Circus Giant and the Bearded Lady' turns out to be a vivid account of the influences of endocrine glands on personality. 'From Hollywood to City College' is actually an exposé of various too-simple modes of typing and judging personality.

### Other Books Received

Understanding Society—The Principles of Dynamic Sociology. By Howard W. Odum. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. vi + 734. \$5.00.

Dark Glory. By Harry V. Richardson. New York: Friendship Press, 1947. Published for Home Missions Council of North America and Phelps-Stokes Fund. Pp. xiv + 209. \$2.00. The American Farmer. By Lee Fryer. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. x + 172. \$3.00.

Social Relations and Structures. By E. T. Hiller. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. xii + 692. \$4.50.

The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions. A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations. By Robin M. Williams, Jr., New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. Pp. xi + 153. \$1.75.

Leadership in War and Peace. By Sanford Winston. Raleigh: The Agricultural Experiment Station of the North Carolina State College, 1946. Pp. 141.

Europe's Population in the Interwar Years,
By Dudley Kirk. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946,
Pp. xii + 340. Paper bound, \$3.50;
Cloth bound, \$4.00.

Color and Conscience, By Buell G. Gallagher. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. ix + 244. \$2.50.

Marriage and the Family. By Meyer F. Nimkoff. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. Pp. xx + 750. \$5.00.

Social Science Principles in the Light of Scientific Method. By Joseph Mayer. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947. Pp. xxii + 564. \$5.00.

Social Control. By Joseph S. Roucek and Associates. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 584.

They Did It in Indiana. By Paul Turner. New York: The Dryden Press, 1947. Pp. xxix + 159. \$2.25.

Community Wise. By Edna H. Porter. New York: The Woman's Press, 1947. Pp. 64. \$.75.

The Family in American Culture. By Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. Pp. xii + 780. \$4.25.

Management in Homes. By Ella M. Cushman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. xiii + 285. \$4.25.

Family and Civilization. By Carle C. Zim-

merman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. x + 829. \$4.50. How to Interpret Social Welfare. By Helen

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# NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland B. Tate

### MINUTES OF BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

### Fontana Village, North Carolina August 26-29, 1947

The first business meeting was called to order at 2:15 P.M. August 26 in the Fontana Village School Auditorium by President W. A. Anderson who presided. Approximately 50 persons participated.

President Anderson made a short statement about the selection of Fontana Village as a meeting place, expressed his pleasant surprise at the fairly large number present for the opening session and asked each person in the room to give a short informal self-introduction, so that all could get better acquainted.

Minutes of the December 1946 meetings as published in the March 1947 issue of Rural Sociology were summarized by the secretary-treasurer (Leland Tate). It was moved by Selz Mayo, seconded by Wilson Gee and carried that the minutes be approved as printed.

### Preliminary Reports

Preliminary reports on membership and finances for 1947 made by the secretary-treasurer revealed a total of 395 paid-up members as of August 22 distributed throughout 39 states and 7 foreign countries; and a bank balance of \$965.92, subject to deductions of about \$500.00 for accounts payable before the end of the year. It was moved by Rupert Vance, seconded by Allen Edwards and carried to accept the reports as presented.

A preliminary annual report on publication of the journal Rural Sociology, made by the managing editor, C. Horace Hamilton, revealed that each issue costs about \$525 and has a circulation of approximately 1000 copies. It was moved by Douglas Ensminger, seconded by Earl Grigsby and carried to accept the report as presented.

President Anderson appointed a Resolutions Committee composed of E. J. Niederfrank, Harold Kaufman and Allen Edwards; and a Picnic Committee composed of Samuel Blizzard, Neal Gross and Welton Rotz. G

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President Anderson explained that 1948 officers would be elected by ballot in November from a list of nominees to be sent to the secretary by J. H. Kolb, chairman of the Nominating Committee. For the tabulation of ballots and the auditing of final annual reports he announced an Election Committee composed of B. L. Hummel, W. W. Eure and W. E. Garnett; and an Auditing Committee composed of Harold Hoffsommer, Margaret Hagood and Earl Grigsby.

The president announced that several committee reports would be considered at the second business meeting.

The secretary-treasurer expressed the opinion that the office of secretary-treasurer should be rotated every three years, and that those present should be thinking of a new secretary-treasurer to be appointed by the incoming Executive Committee, as provided for in a recent amendment to the Constitution and by-laws.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.

The second business meeting was called to order at 11 a.m., August 29 in the Fontana Village School Auditorium by President W. A. Anderson. Approximately @ persons participated.

An announcement was made concerning the watermelon party to be held later in the day on the Fontana Village picnic grounds.

### Committee Reports

The president asked for a report from the Committee on Rural Sociology in Colleges other than Land-Grant Institutions and found that chairman Earl Koos was ill. It was moved by Ed Losey, seconded by Earl Grigsby and approved that this committee be continued.

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In the absence of Irwin Sanders, chairman of the Committee on World Social Organization, Howard Beers made a short statement about the committee's work in process of development including a proposed social atlas and other items. T. J. Woofter said this committee could very well consider the ideas and organization involved in Inter-American Census proposals and our established relations with South America which Congress is discussing in terms of extension to other countries. Carl Taylor said that FAO had invited rural sociologists of the United States and representatives of other nations to consider a World Welfare division of this agency. It was moved by Allen Edwards, seconded by Olaf Larson and approved that the Committee on World Social Organization be continued, subject to possible changes in functions and personnel to be made by the incoming Executive Com-

In the absence of Edgar Schuler, chairman of the Library Committee to work with the American Library Association, Harold Hoffsommer gave a preliminary report on the returns from questionnaires concerning research in progress and indicated that committee members and the American Library Association were planning a workshop for January 1948. It was moved by Fred Yoder, seconded by Duane Gibson, and approved that the Library Committee be continued.

The report of the Committee on the 1950 Census was read by Chairman C. Horace Hamilton and a copy filed with the secretary. It was moved by Samuel Blizzard, seconded and carried that the report be accepted as presented. It was moved by Olaf Larson, seconded and carried that the statement of the Committee pointing up certain changes which need to be made in census procedures be transmitted by the secretary to the Director of the Census for his consideration. It also was approved to transmit a second statement prepared by Thomas A. Tripp, relative to the Census of Religious Bodies.

The report of the Board of Editors relative to publication place of the Journal was made by C. Horace Hamilton. He stated that a majority of the Board (including Hamilton, Loomis and Vance) recommended sponsorship of publication remain at North Carolina State College for an indeterminate period subject to further consideration by the Society, should any good reasons develop for making a change. Following some comments by B. L. Hummel and T. J. Woofter, it was moved by Howard Beers, seconded by Earl Grigsby and carried to approve the majority report.

A tentative report by the Committee on Life Memberships was given by Merton Oyler. He revealed that committee members hesitated to propose life memberships at this time, so the matter was tabled.

### Resolutions

The report of the Resolutions Committee was given by E. J. Niederfrank, discussed at some length, amended several times and adopted part by part in the form of the following resolutions.

(1) WHEREAS this meeting has been highly enjoyable, with conditions and accommodations having been found to our satisfaction, Be It Resolved that the Rural Sociological Society wishes to express its thanks to the management of Government Services, Inc., at Fontana Dam, for the use of this recreational site for its meeting purposes and for the splendid cooperation of its personnel.

(2) WHEREAS this 1947 meeting, having combined family recreation with professional business of the meeting and having been held during the summer time and found satisfactory, Be It Resolved that those attending this meeting go on record as favoring further meetings of this type whenever practicable.

(3) WHEREAS Charles Josiah Galpin, generally considered the father of scientific Rural Sociology, passed from our midst during this year, Be It Resolved that the Rural Sociological Society acknowledge hereby his great contribution to the science of understanding rural society, and requests the ex-

ecutive committee to arrange appropriate memoria and to assist in whatever ways it can to appropriately preserve the writing, teachings, and library of Dr. Galpin for the benefit of others.

- (4) WHEREAS the increased mobility of the population, the commercialization of agriculture, and the growing industrial civilization are making rural social organization more complex and bringing about closer interrelationships of farm people and institutions with nonfarm rural people and with the total socio-politico-economy of community, state, nation, and world, Be It Resolved that the president of the Society appoint a committee to consider the problem of widening the conceptions of rural sociology to include nonfarm rural people and their relationships to all aspects of the total society. Included in this are the rural sociological interests and resources of non-land-grant institutions and public agencies other than those connected with the U.S. Department of A griculture.
- (5) WHEREAS several years have elapsed since any comprehensive survey of research in the field, Be It Resolved that the standing committee on research undertake a review and evaluation of rural sociological research to date for the purpose of organizing or synthesizing findings and pointing the direction toward needed research.
- (6) Be It Resolved that the Executive Committee, with or without the assistance of the standing committee on research, prepare a statement containing the essence of the 1947 research committee report pertaining especially to suggested lines of research and certain aspects of cooperative relationships, for presenting to the Federal Security Agency and other known interested agencies and educational-research institutions, public or private, for the purpose of broadening the objectives of rural sociological research and securing the cooperative participation in it of these other agencies and institutions.
- (7) WHEREAS there is need for assisting teachers, researchers, and extension workers in rural sociology, and WHEREAS there is need for greater integration of

these phases of rural sociology work, Be It Resolved that the Rural Sociological Society favors the development through the respective standing committees, of a comprehensive program for the improvement of rural sociology teaching, research, and extension to include: (a) Special meetings, conferences, workshops, reports or other ways, either separately or in connection with the annual meeting, whereby those interested in teaching, research or extension might get together to discus current work and its improvement, and (b) the development of evaluation studies of teaching techniques and teaching programs.

(8) WHEREAS the membership of the Society includes persons of other than the White race, Be It Resolved that meetings of the Society be held at places which are accessible to or which provide appropriate accommodations to other than those of the White race, and that all members be fully advised of this fact in advance of the meeting in order that none shall stay away for fear of a lack of accommodations.

There being no further items for consideration, the second business meeting was adjourned.

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Persons present for all the Fontana Village meetings, as revealed by the register kept at the entrance to the school auditorium, numbered 121. These came from 26 states, the District of Columbia and Canada; and included representatives from eight states west of the Mississippi.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE 1950 CENSUSES

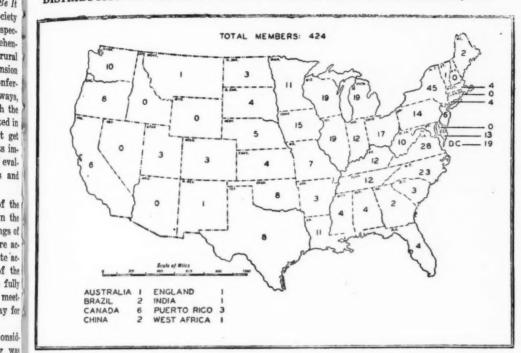
### To the Rural Sociological Society

Because the assignment of the Committee's objectives and functions were stated rather broadly when the appointment of this Committee was authorized in December of 1946, the Committee has made the following formulation of its objectives and procedures for achieving them which are herewith submitted to the society for approval.

### Objective I

To ascertain the ways in which the 1951

# DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1947



Censuses of Population and Agriculture (especially in the United States, but also in other countries of the world) can best serve the statistical needs of persons engaged in rural social research.

### Procedures for Meeting Objective I

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- 1. To seek expressions from the membership of the Society as to content that should be obtained in the 1950 Censues and as to the tabulations and cross-tabulations that should be made.
- To keep abreast of the current developments in planning and execution of the 1950 Censuses on the part of federal and international agencies in cooperation with similar committees of other scientific societies.

### Objective II

To seek to influence the planning of the 1950 Censuses (schedule content, tabulations, publications) so as to maximize the utility of the Censuses for rural social research.

### Procedures for Meeting Objective II

- 1. To transmit informally to the proper agencies unofficial statements from individual members of the Rural Sociological Society on the desirability of specific items and tabulations of the 1950 Cen-
- 2. To formulate for approval by the Society or the Executive Committee resolutions or recommendations for approval by the Society or Executive Committee for transmission to the Census Bureau, the Budget Bureau, or other agencies bearing on matters relating to the 1950 Censuses.
- 3. To cooperate with similar or corresponding committees of other scientific societies in joint action with regard to the 1950 Censuses.

### Objective III

To keep the membership informed of the developments in planning, financing, and execution of the 1950 Censuses.

### Procedures for Meeting Objective III

- To prepare brief notes on progress of the 1950 Censuses for publication in Rural Sociology.
- To report to the Society at its annual meetings on developments relating to the 1950 Censuses.
- With approval of the Executive Committee, to circularize members of the Society informing them of the current status of legislation and appropriations for the 1950 Censuses should difficulties arise.

The Committee invites the members of the Society to transmit to its chairman at any time, but preferably as soon as possible and in writing, specific and constructive suggestions on the 1950 Censuses to be transmitted to the appropriate agencies.

The Committee has established cooperative relations with the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Sociological Society and the Secretary of the American Statistical Society and proposes to work with both of these groups, with the appropriate committee of the American Statistical Association probably assuming the function of integrating the efforts of committees from several societies concerned with the 1950 Censuses.

The Committee has prepared a resolution for the approval of the Society to be transmitted to the Director of the Bureau of the Census (Mr. J. C. Capt) and to the Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget in Charge of Statistical Standards (Dr. Stuart A. Rice).

The Committee will welcome suggestions from the membership on further steps it might take to advance its objectives.

Respectfully submitted,

C. Horace Hamilton, Chairman Margaret Jarman Hagood Ray Mangus

### RESOLUTION

The Rural Sociological Society expresses its approval and endorsement of the pro-

posed 1950 censuses of population and agriculture in the United States. In order that these censuses may be of greater utility for rural social research than previous decennial censuses, we urge that the following proposals be considered in planning the censuses.

- 1. That the results of the censuses of population and agriculture be collated and that the farm population and household data be tabulated according to important characteristics of the farms on which the people live, such as tenure, value of products, economic size, etc.
- 2. That the residence classification of the rural-nonfarm population be expanded to identify its different segments, such as suburban, village, open country, etc.
- 3. That an attempt be made to identify an "agricultural population" that is more closely associated with agriculture than the presently defined "farm population."
- 4. That the duplication of the 1940 censuses of agriculture and population on current agricultural employment be avoided in 1950, with a possible substitution on the agriculture schedule of annual labor time input.

In working out the details of these proposals, the Census Bureau may wish to consult with the Committee on the 1950 Censuses of the Rural Sociological Society, of which the Chairman is Dr. C. Horace Hamilton, N. C. State College, Raleigh, N. C.

Carleton College (Northfield, Minnesota). Professor Samuel M. Strong assumed the chairmanship of the department of sociology this fall. Dr. Orrin E. Klapp joined the department recently as assistant professor of sociology. He is teaching courses in criminology and the family. Professor John Phelan is teaching courses in rural sociology and fields of social work. He has attended during the summer the National Conference Institute on Social Security called by the American Council on Education and Social Security Administration. He is a member of the Minnesota Institute of Government Research. During the past

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Professor Strong has been engaged in a study of several small communities in Minnesota.

Columbia University (New York 27, New York). The Columbia University Press has issued a second printing of Farmers of the World: The Development of Agricultural Extension, edited by Drs. Edmund deS. Brunner, Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger.

University of Connecticut (Storrs, Conn.). Dr. Walter C. McKain, Jr. has accepted an appointment as associate professor of rural sociology on the research staff of the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station. McKain has been in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the U. S. Department of Agriculture for a number of years. He has served as leader of the Division in the regional offices at Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, and at Berkeley, California. In recent months he has been stationed in Washington, D.C., in charge of studies dealing with standards and levels of living. The research staff here now consists of Dr. N. L. Whetten, in charge of the research program, Dr. McKain and Mr. Valery Webb, recently appointed instructor in rural sociology.

Dr. Whetten's new book entitled Rural Mexico is in the process of publication by the University of Chicago Press. It is scheduled to be available for distribution by April 1, 1948.

Cornell University (Ithaca, N. Y.). Professor W. A. Anderson is on sabbatic leave extending to September, 1948, during which time he and Mrs. Anderson will visit Syria, India, and China. His year's work in the Near East will be under the sponsorship of Agricultural Missions, Inc. In Syria he will study the projects of certain missionary boards, the Near East Foundation, and the Syrian Government, and will consult with

them about the social aspects of their programs. In India he will be stationed at Allahabad Agricultural College to help set up a program in the field of rural sociology. He will travel in the north section of India studying certain selected projects which will be helpful in understanding the Allahabad program. In China he will serve as visiting professor at the University of Nanking where he will conduct a graduate seminar in rural social problems, and work with the institution, particularly with Dean C. W. Chang and Professor J. Lossing Buck, in establishing a program of teaching, research and extension in the field of rural sociology. Dr. Anderson has worked for 15 years with Agricultural Missions, Inc., in the training of missionaries for rural work. He believes, however, that the year's program will make it possible for him to learn much more about the rural social problems of the Near East and India, and to reobserve rural China, where he working during 1930-31 for the Institute of Social and Religious Research as a member of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry.

Iowa State College (Ames, Iowa). Dr. Walter A. Lunden joined the staff in March, 1947, as associate professor of sociology. He is teaching social problems, social welfare legislation and criminology. His researches will deal especially with the incidence and characteristics of crime and delinquency and the treatment of the rural offender.

Dr. Lunden has his A.M. degree from the University of Minnesota, his Ph.D. from Harvard, and has written several books in his major field. Before World War II, he resigned from the Sociology Staff of the University of Pittsburgh to become President of Gustavus Adolphus College. Joining the Armed Forces in 1943, he was in charge of civilian prisons in the American occupation zone of Germany.

Dr. Roscoe R. Griffin joined the staff in September, coming from the University of Arkansas where he was assistant professor of economics. Dr. Griffin has his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois and plans to do advanced graduate work in rural sociology to enable him better to integrate the two fields.

A new research project is now under way to determine the incidence of membership in cooperatives among rural people, the opinions of farmers and townspeople toward cooperative business organizations and practices, and the relationship between membership in cooperative associations and selected factors in family living and community participation. Dr. W. J. Tudor is leader for this project which is financed by a gift from the Consumers Cooperative Association of Kansas City.

Dr. Neal Gross is continuing his study of factors affecting the adoption of improved farming practices. He is also initiating a research project to study social stratification in rural Iowa, and its relation to social attitudes and the participation of farm and town people in organized groups.

Dr. Ray E. Wakeley has an IAES bulletin in press entitled, "Changes in Iowa Population." Paul Jehlik and Ray Wakeley have completed a report on social organization in Hamilton County, Iowa. This is one of the intensive county studies made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, BAE, in cooperation with the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station. The report will be published by the Station.

Dr. J. B. Gittler has received a grant from the Iowa State College Research Council to continue his research project in the sociology of industrial relations. Dr. Gittler is also Editor of the *Mid-West Sociologist*.

Dr. Reuben Hill is preparing a research report on his study of the adjustment of Iowa families to crises of separation and reunion. He is also supervising a study of father roles related to various patterns of family interaction.

Nine new courses have been added to the offerings in sociology. These courses strengthen the undergraduate offerings in general sociology, group work and case work. Graduate work is strengthened by the addition of courses in sociological analysis, methods of research, social organization,

minority groups, advanced problems and planning.

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Michigan State College (East Lansing, Mich.). Professor William H. Form from Kent State University joined our staff in July. He plans to center his teaching and research on industrial and occupational sociology and social psychology. Professor Asael T. Hansen, cultural anthropologist of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, joined the staff September 1st. He is preparing his materials on Yucatan for publication and looking forward to research in Latin America.

Professor Solon Kimball was on leave this summer while serving as visiting lecturer at the University of Chicago.

Mr. Paul Miller, former assistant county agent of West Virginia, has been employed as rural sociology extension specialist. He will continue his work toward the Ph.D. while on the job using the several research projects being conducted by the Social Research Service and Agricultural Experiment Station on extension methods and organization as a thesis.

Mr. Alex Sim, director of adult education service at McGill University, Quebec, Canada, has been awarded a Hinman fellowship and began work in September.

The Social Research Service of Michigan State College and the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica have made arrangements through which graduate students are furnished expenses and board and room while developing sociological and anthropological research projects. These projects may become graduate theses on Costa Rican social structure and value orientation. At the request of the Institute, C. P. Loomis, director of the Social Research Service, visited the Institute in August to initiate the cooperative project.

Edgar Schuler has been made associate director of the Social Research Service.

Wilson Longmore, on leave from the U.S. D.A., is analyzing over 1,000 field schedules from interviews with colonists in Eastern

Peru taken under a cooperative arrangement between the Social Research Service and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. These and other data will furnish the basis for a Ph.D. thesis.

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University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N. C.) Howard W. Odum, after a year as Visiting Professor at Yale, has returned to head the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Guy B. Johnson has resumed his duties as Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Research Professor in the Institute for Research in Social Science after an absence of four years as executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

Lee M. Brooks, Professor of Sociology, is on leave for one year as Visiting Professor of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

Donald S. Klaiss has resigned to accept a position with the University of Arizona. Work in marriage and family relationships is temporarily under the guidance of Lester Pearl of Ohio State and Wayne Kernodle, who worked under Dr. Ernest R. Groves at U. N. C.

Daniel O. Price has been appointed Lecturer in Social Statistics and will be in charge of the statistical laboratory.

Hilda Kuper of Johannesburg, South Africa, Ph.D. from the London School of Economics, will teach a course on Native Peoples and Cultures of Africa. She is also engaged in research on race in the South.

A departmental library in sociology, anthropology, and city and regional planning is being developed in connection with the laboratory-workshop of the Institute for Research in Social Science. A full-time, professional librarian is in charge.

Recent publications or books now in press by members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology include Howard W. Odum, The Way of the South and Understanding Society, both by Macmillan, 1947; Harold D. Meyer, Community Recreation Guide (with Brightbill), Heath (in press); S. H. Hobbs, Jr., North Carolina Today (with Bond), University of North Carolina Press, 1947; John P. Gillin, Moche: A Peruvian Coastal Community, Smithsonian Institution, 1947; The Ways of Men, Appleton-Century (in press), Introductory Sociology (with Gillin), Macmillan (in press); Hilda Kuper, An African Aristocracy, Oxford Press, 1947.

Purdue University (Lafayette, Ind.) Sociology is in the process of reorganization and will become a distinct curriculum instead of a series of service courses. The Graduate Council has approved the granting of the Master's Degree with specialization in either general or agricultural (rural) sociology. All rural courses will be given in the College of Agriculture but will be jointly administered by the Department of Sociology and the Department of Agricultural Economics.

Dr. Harold T. Christensen formerly of Brigham Young University is now chairman of the Sociology Department. Other staff members include Dr. J. R. Leevy, Dr. A. A. Smith, Dr. Elizabeth Wilson, Dr. Hanna Meissner, D. W. Culver, formerly a graduate student at Yale, Walter Hirsch, formerly a graduate student at Queens College, and four graduate assistants. Dr. J. E. Losey represents the Department of Agricultural Economics on the Staff and handles a research and teaching assignment in Rural Sociology.

University of Missouri (Columbia, Mo.). Margaret L. Bright, instructor in rural sociology, will be on leave during the academic year 1947-1948 studying at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Lawrence M. Hepple, formerly assistant professor of sociology, became assistant professor of rural sociology in September.

Vanderbilt University (Nashville, Tenn.) announces the establishment of the Institute for Brazilian Studies beginning in September, 1947. The Institute offers graduate instruction leading to the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy, and an undergraduate program which can be included in the baccalaureate courses of study.

The purposes of the Institute are several: (1) to provide a center for research and publications concerning the social, economic, political and cultural life of Brazil; (2) to prepare students on the graduate level for work in or in relationship to Brazil or other parts of Latin America; (3) to interest students on the undergraduate level in Latin America and to give them a general introduction to the problems and developments of the Latin American republics; (4) and to promote public knowledge and understanding of the Latin American countries and especially of Brazil by publications, lectures, exchange of professors and students, and other means.

Instruction will be offered on the graduate level in the fields of the history and politics of Brazil, the economics of South America and problems of world trade, the sociological problems of Brazil, and the language, literature and cultural institutions of that country. For undergraduates, courses will be offered in Portuguese and Spanish, in Latin American history and literature, and in the sociological and economic institutions of Latin America.

Students wishing to study for graduate degrees will be admitted upon certification of an A.B. or B.S. degree from an approved college. At least two years' study in Portuguese, or a knowledge of Spanish plus one year's study of Portuguese, must be offered for admission, or secured after enrollment. A minimum of two years' residence will be required for Ph.D. candidates. All candidates for this degree without a first-hand knowledge of Brazil should plan to spend some portion of their period of study in that country. The Institute will assist students to this end.

For the Master's Degree, a minimum of one academic year's residence will be required. The requirement of facility in Portuguese and of completing a Master's thesis will necessitate in many instances, however, more than this period.

The Institute will be organized as an independent unit and will have its own quarters, but each individual composing its faculty will also have membership in the department of the Graduate School in which his special interests lie. Candidates for graduate degrees will, in most cases, receive their degree in the academic department of their major interest.

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Attention is called to the Cordell Hull Fellowships in International Affairs established by Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Jones. These fellowships, established in honor of Mr. Hull, the author of the Good Neighbor Policy toward Latin America, will be available to graduate students registering in the Institute. These fellowships carry stipends from \$750 to \$1250. Other fellowships offered by the Graduate School, the stipends of which range from \$500 to \$1000, are open also to students working in this field.

Undergraduate students looking toward business or professional careers related to South America may enroll in the College of Arts and Science of Vanderbilt University and take courses as referred to above in the Latin American field. They may offer the study of Portuguese in satisfaction of language requirements for the baccalaureate degree.

The establishment of the Institute for Brazilian Studies represents the organization and strengthening of a number of interests and activities relating to Latin America, not only in Vanderbilt University, but also in the two contiguous educational institutions—George Peabody College for Teachers and Scarritt College. A close relationship to these colleges will be maintained. Students in these institutions may take courses in the Institute for Brazilian Studies without the payment of additional fees and, conversely, the resources of both colleges are available to those enrolled in the Institute.

The Vanderbilt Institute for Brazilian Studies is also related more broadly to programs dealing with Latin America in other universities, especially to those in the University of North Carolina, the University of Texas, and Tulane University. The special interests of these four universities in the Latin American field complement one anoth-

er and together cover, geographically at least, the Latin American field. Arrangements, therefore, have been made for a continuing program of consultation, cooperation and mutual assistance. Migration of graduate students between the four universities will be facilitated and encouraged. Especially important are plans, jointly worked out, for summer programs of teaching, in which intensive language instruction in Spanish and Portuguese will be provided and specialized courses offered.

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For further inquiries, address: Professor T. Lynn Smith, Director, The Institute for Brazilian Studies, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 4, Tennessee.

University of Washington (Seattle, Wash.). Stuart C. Dodd has been appointed research professor and director of a new research unit created by the last legislature. This organization will consist of a statewide polling agency and field research organization supported jointly by the University and the State College. In addition to its research function, the agency will provide training in research for graduate students. Dr. Dodd is teaching courses in systematic sociology and social research.

Delbert C. Miller has been oppointed associate professor to teach courses in industrial sociology, public opinion, and related subjects. Ruth A. Inglis will teach courses in mass communication and collective behavior. Her book on Freedom of the Movies was published in February by the University of Chicago Press. The Curtis Publishing Company of Philadelphia has made a generous grant to the department to study certain problems in the field of mass communication. Raymond E. Bassett has been released from his teaching in order to become research fellow under this grant. Robert W. O'Brien and Frank S. Miyamoto are engaged in a study of the resettlement of the Japanese and other minority problems in the local area. Julius Jahn and John Griswold assisted with the work during the

Howard B. Woolston, first chairman of

the department, retired in June after 28 years of teaching in the department. Jesse F. Steiner will return in the fall from a leave of absence at the University of Hawaii. C. K. Cheng will return this fall from a year's leave of absence in China. He will teach a course in Chinese social institutions and will assist in the introductory course. Joseph Cohen will resume full-time teaching this fall after a war leave of four years as Assistant Regional Expediter of the National Housing Agency. He will teach courses in American housing problems and in the fields of general sociology and statistics.

Calvin F. Schmid will continue his work as director of research for the State Census Board. Charles E. Bowerman is continuing his research in the field of family relations. The University has established a special research fellowship in the department for the study of certain problems of student adjustment. Frank L. Parks has been relieved of most of his teaching for next year in order to conduct the research.

Beginning with the fall quarter, the department will offer two curricula: (1) a regular major for general education students requiring 36 quarter hours of sociology with a minmum of requirements in technical courses; and (2) a preprofessional major requiring 55 quarter hours of sociology including a required sequence in technical courses.

Professor Richard T. LaPiere of Stanford University offered courses in the department during the summer quarter.

Wayne University (Detroit 1, Mich.). Dr. Alfred McClung Lee of Wayne University is serving as visiting professor at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, during the academic year 1947-48. He is offering a course on the newspaper in society. Under the terms of a grant from the Field Foundation, he is on leave to complete a sociological research project in the field of communications and public opinion.

Sydenham Hospital (New York City). the nation's pioneer interracial voluntary hospital, announces the establishment, effective August 1, 1947, of its Institute of Community Relations, a research unit which will study the varied and extensive relationships between social factors and disease. The new project has been set up in cooperation with Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, which will participate actively in the selection of research topics, in technical consultation on research in progress, and in the provision of research facilities. The Institute will, in turn, pro-

vide field experience in research for graduate students in Columbia's department of sociology, which will give degree credit for satisfactory work thus done.

Named director of the new Institute was John A. Morsell, formerly a research as sociate of the Bureau of Applied Social Research. He will be aided initially by an assistant and a secretary, with the greater part of the personnel consisting of graduate students and of interested persons in the community who will undergo suitable training as a volunteer corps.

# RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP LIST, 1947

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